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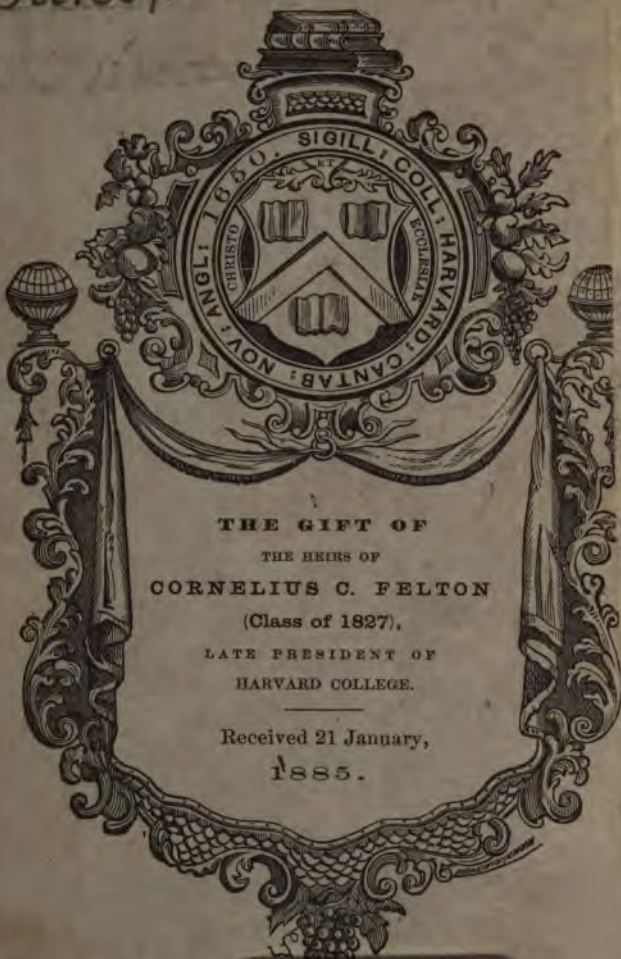
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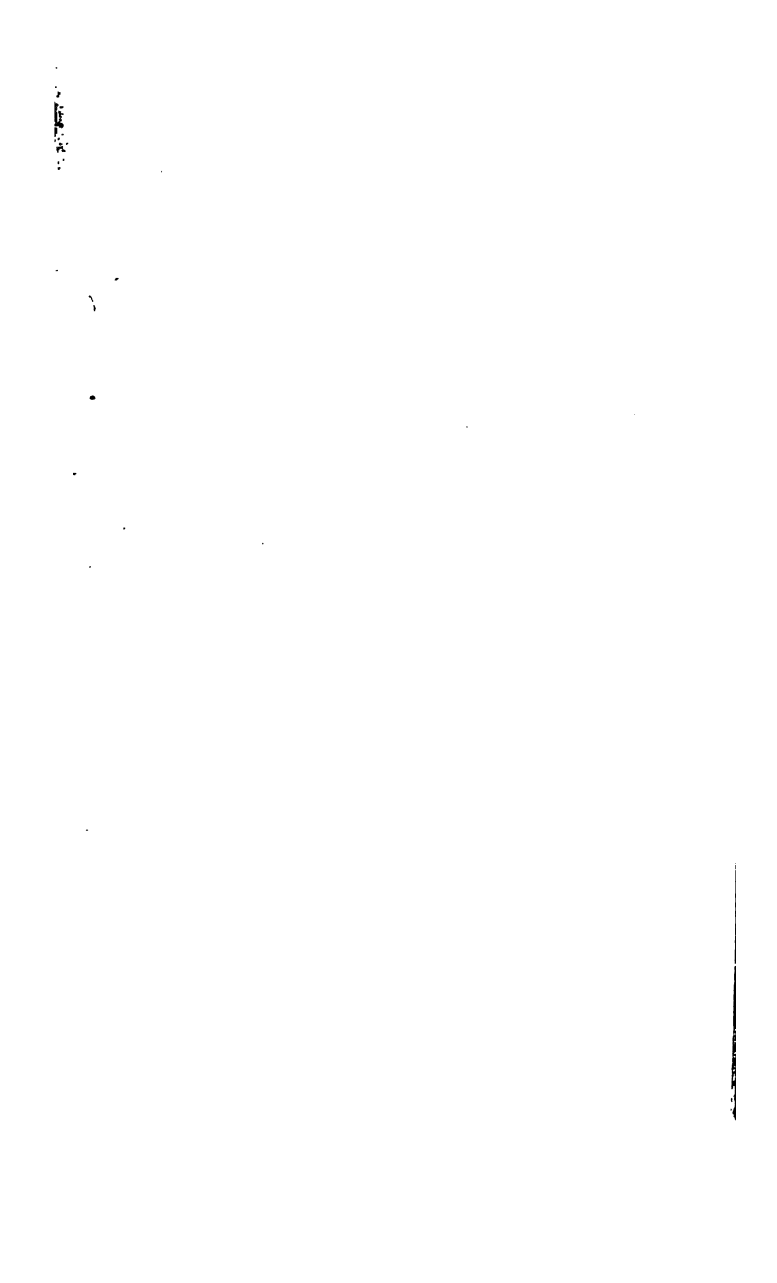
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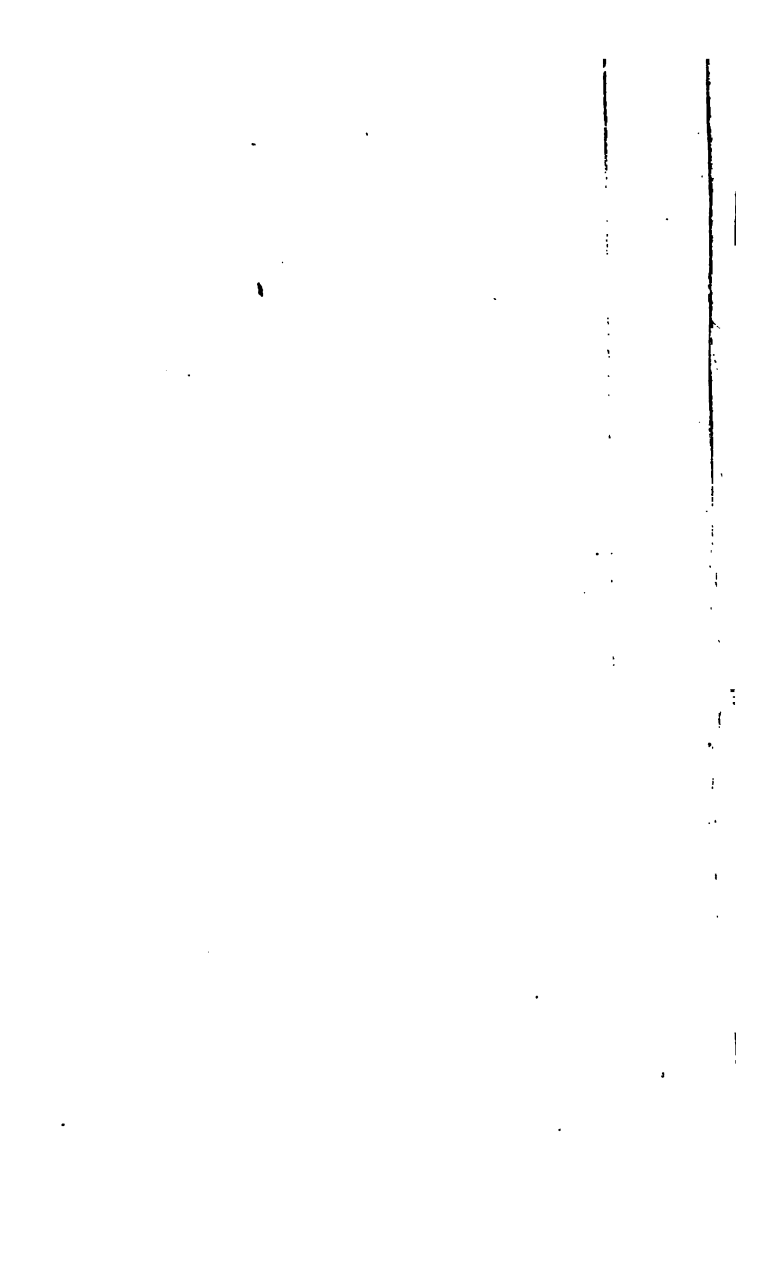
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HISTORY OF THE WAR.

THE Author will be happy to receive communications from any one who has taken part in the War, or corrections as to facts and dates of any errors which he may have made ; any additional information on the subject of the War will be thankfully received, addressed to him, to be left at the Publishers.





# ISTORY OF THE WAR:

*CRIMEAN WAR*  
OR,

A RECORD OF THE EVENTS,

Political and Military,

BETWEEN TURKEY AND RUSSIA,  
AND RUSSIA AND THE ALLIED POWERS OF  
ENGLAND AND FRANCE;

Showing the Origin and Progress of the War to the  
end of the Year 1854.

*compiled from Public Documents and other Authentic Sources.*

WITH TWO MAPS OF THE CRIMEA.

By GEORGE FOWLER,

AUTHOR OF "LIVES OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF RUSSIA," "HISTORY OF  
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE," ETC.

LONDON:

IPSON LOW, SON, & CO., 47 LUDGATE HILL,  
English and American Booksellers and Publishers.

1855.

~~I. 1289~~  
~~Star 1230, 2~~

Oct. 607.1 1885, Jan. 21,

Gift of

The Heirs of O. O. Felton.

THE object of this little work is to present, in as concise a form as possible, every record of the War for the information and reference of the people ; at the same time the Author has endeavoured to sustain its interest as a narrative. The compilation has been the result of long application and study on the subject ; and he hopes that it will be found to supply the want so generally admitted.

The Author having observed the order of date in the events of this History, an occasional abruptness in the change of subject was scarcely avoidable.

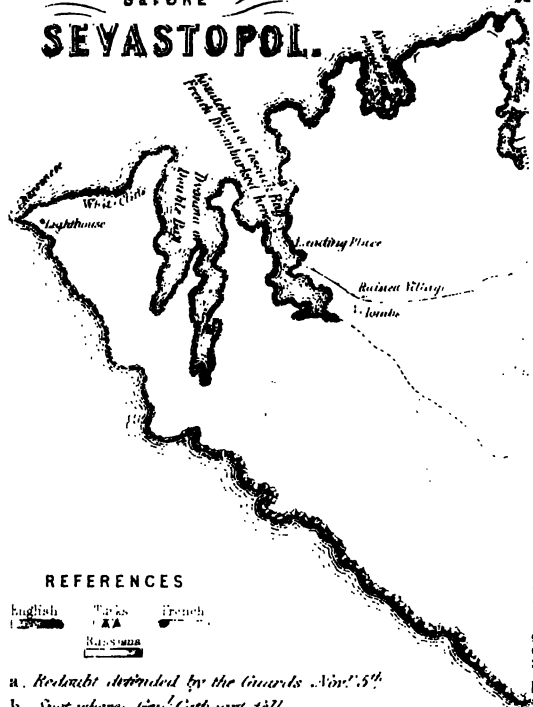
*London, February, 1855.*





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# POSITIONS OF THE ALLIED ARMIES BEFORE SEVASTOPOL.



## REFERENCES

English      Turks      French  
 ( )      ( )      ( )  
 Redoubts

- a. Redoubt defended by the Guards Nov. 5<sup>th</sup>  
 b. Spot where Gen. Cathcart fell.  
 Redoubts A B C have been constructed  
 since the Battle of Inkermann.

Scale of Miles  
 0 1 2 3 4

# HISTORY OF THE WAR.

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## CONTENTS.

of the War—Some Description of the “Holy Places”—  
the Menschikoff Mission—Invasion of the Principalities by  
the Russians—Turkey declares War against Russia—The  
Vienna Conferences—Russia declares War against Turkey—  
the Massacre at Sinope—Arrival of the Anglo-French Fleet  
at the Bosphorus—The “Friends” interview with the Em-  
peror at St. Petersburg—The “Private Correspondence,”  
including the Tzar’s Conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour  
—Declaration of War by England and France against Russia  
—Departure of British Troops and of the British Fleet for  
the Baltic—Success of the Turks against the Russians—The  
Siege of Silistria—Bombardment of Odessa—Loss of the  
Tiger frigate—Arrival of the British and French Troops in  
Turkey—Actions of the Allied Fleets in the Baltic—Destruc-  
tion of Bomarsund—Final Expulsion of the Russians from the  
Principalities—Their Occupation by the Austrians—News  
from St. Petersburg—Expedition to the Crimea—Battle of  
the Alma—Of Balaklava—Of Inkermann—Siege of Sebas-  
topol, &c. &c.

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## CHAPTER I.

It seems almost incredible, in this enlightened age,  
that the quarrels of a few ignorant Latin and Greek  
monks in the far-distant country of Palestine for the  
possession of certain “sanctuaries,” which supersti-  
tion has consecrated as “holy,” should have been able  
to light up the torch of war, and to involve the most  
powerful nations in the world in a deadly strife;  
rightening all Europe from her propriety, and more  
particularly since it can be proved, that these “holy”  
places are but a *myth*, and that they never can be

reconciled with sacred or profane history; but the fraud on the credulity of mankind is so completely established, that these monks have succeeded in *enlisting both Europe and the East under their banners*, carrying havoc and destruction in their train, perhaps unparalleled since the Crusades.

We will endeavour to show the origin of this strife of nations which is now desolating the world, and why the god of war has been invoked, at whose altars such immense sacrifices are being made to appease indignant Europe.

The "holy places" at Jerusalem are certain sanctuaries and chapels resorted to by myriads of pilgrims from different parts of the globe, as the true localities of the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of our blessed Lord, particularly the shrine of the Holy Sepulchre, which is a splendid monument, built by the mother of Constantine, the Empress Helena.\* The possession of these places has been in all ages coveted by professing Christians, and although it might reasonably be supposed, that at these hallowed spots there would have been harmony and peace kept up amongst the nominal followers of the Messiah, yet, on the contrary, the most deadly

\* "There is nothing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that can be reconciled with the history of our Saviour's burial."—*Clarke's Travels*, Part II., p. 542.

"There are no remains whatever of any ancient sepulchre, that with the most attentive and scrupulous search, we could discover."—P. 544.

"Everything beneath this building seems discordant not only with history but with common sense."—P. 545.

"A monkish juggle, in fact, that there was no crypt nor monument resembling a Jewish place of burial, that we must seek elsewhere for our Saviour's tomb."—P. 560.

"It is impossible to reconcile the history of ancient Jerusalem with the appearance presented by the modern city. From the time of Adrian to that of Constantine, Jerusalem had been possessed by Pagans. Helena arrives, overthrows their temples, and prepares to identify the situation of every place connected with our Saviour's history."—P. 563.

strife has prevailed there—blood has been shed, and disgraceful scenes have been enacted in the presence of the Moslems, who were alone able to restore order amongst the combatants; and, strange and almost incredible as it may seem, "to possess the keys of these holy places" is the origin of that great war which is now desolating Europe.

It is a singular fact, and proved incontestably by modern history, that these "holy places" are the inventions of monks, bishops, priests, and nuns, who are ever employed in materialising a spiritual religion; and although the facts which they communicate are incontestable, yet their *real localities* are buried in oblivion. The first pilgrims that went to Palestine never visited them, since they were unknown before the time of Constantine and his mother Helena (the lady whose sagacious zeal discovered the real cross); therefore, they are altogether a fiction and a fraud: but the monks have succeeded in establishing certain localities *as such*, which bring them in an immense revenue for admission to see them. It is now between these two parties *who shall possess the keys of the "holy places."* The Armenians likewise set up some claim to hold them; but since they have no powerful sovereign to advocate their cause, they must fight their own battles.

The first notice that we have of the coveted possession of those keys was by the Latins, as far back as 1535, when Francis I. took these people under his protection; and by a treaty with Selim I. in that year, the claim of the Latin Christians to the "holy places" was insisted on and agreed to, by a Mohammedan prince, who neither knew nor cared about them. This treaty was confirmed by a further treaty in 1740, when the claims of France to them were again recognised, and yet *the sanctuaries were not specified*—an omission which gave rise to endless disputes between the Latin and Greek monks: the latter also possessed sanctuaries, and a share of those under the

protection of France—many quarrels arose between them, and in 1757, a serious collision took place between the members of the rival churches in Palestine. In 1808, the Holy Sepulchre was partially destroyed by fire, and the Greeks obtained a firman from the Porte authorising them to rebuild the edifice; on the strength of this firman they claimed additional rights and privileges, which led to fresh dissensions with the Latins, and, at last caused such scandal, that in 1819, the Russian and French governments interfered, as protecting respectively the subjects of the Greek and Latin churches; they insisted on the safe conduct of the pilgrims to Jerusalem, and for their safe keeping of the keys, which had been deemed of sufficient importance by these governments to be a matter of solicitude on their part; whilst the Porte, to whom they virtually belonged, looked on unconcerned, and when appealed to, to adjust the differences which from time to time arose between these respective powers on the subject, by conceding first to the one and then to the other their claims of possession, have rather tended to foment these strifes than to appease them.

The king of the French claimed a right to protect pilgrims of the Latin faith by virtue of the rank and title accorded to him by the Pontiff of Rome of "Most Christian King;" whilst the Emperor of Russia as "Patriarch of the Greek Church" (a title which he inherits from Peter the Great),\* claims to protect the pilgrims of the Greek faith by virtue of his rank and title. In order to adjust the differences between the Greek and Latin monks, it was deemed necessary that both Russia and France should send an envoy to Palestine for the purpose of obtaining accurate information on the points in dispute. M. Marcellus was deputed on the part of the latter power, and M. Dashkoff on the part of the Russian government: the result of their inquiries gave hope

\* See 'Sovereigns of Russia,' vol. i., p. 384.

of a speedy adjustment of these differences, but the Greek revolution in 1821 put an end to the negotiations, the government of the Ottoman Porte being too much occupied with these important matters to attend to others of such trivial consequence.

We will now allude to the celebration of Easter at Jerusalem. It will not be irrelative to our history of the war to show briefly the desecration of these "holy places," by professing Christians at this time, when pilgrims come from all parts of the East to the great festival, and when it might have been expected that over the sepulchre of their common Lord, somewhat of that peace which the Saviour bequeathed to his disciples would have hallowed the sacred spot, and united his followers in one common bond of union—but not so—the most bloody contests take place between the Latins and the Greeks; so fatal are they, that the Turkish authorities are obliged to interpose, and the interior of the temple is guarded by Turkish troops during the celebration of public worship. An intelligent traveller (Dr. Olon) who witnessed the services in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Easter, describes it as being not only "a scandal to religion, but an offence to morality."

"Many of those who assisted at the pageant appeared to be deeply affected: the mass of spectators however, and some of the monks, evidently regarded it as an idle and trivial affair; while a rabble, always attendant on such an exhibition, indulged in all kinds of disorder, and frequently compelled the Turkish police, who were stationed in different parts of the church, to interfere with heavy blows for the preservation of order. The Musselmans looked upon these scenes with bitter contempt, and cordially used their "batons" with hearty good-will. The resurrection was celebrated by the Greeks, the Armenians, Copts, and other Christians, taking part in the service. The Greek ecclesiastics are always less solemn and decent in the performance of their functions than

the Catholics, and on the present occasion they were guilty of practising upon the ignorant multitude a gross and palpable fraud, which it was not easy to witness without an entire loss of respect and confidence. The pretension is, that fire is miraculously kindled within the Holy Sepulchre. The high ecclesiastics of this sect, after some religious exercises in the chapel, entered into the sepulchre, the whole body of the church being crowded with pilgrims and less interested spectators. Those about the sepulchre were provided with torches, wax candles, and tapers. All eyes were intently fixed upon the sepulchre, when, after a brief interval, a brilliant light appeared, and was raised to a small aperture in the western wall. This produced a strong sensation in the multitude, who rushed forward with frantic eagerness to light their torches by the celestial flame. The confusion and tumult that ensued are indescribable; and the Turkish police was on the alert to restore order by the usual expedient of beating the people over the head and shoulders with fists and clubs. Such are the means employed by bishops and archbishops, the professed successors of the apostles, to promote piety and inspire devotion among the people. Such dishonour is poured upon the adorable Saviour in the house of his friends, on the very spot where, according to their tradition and assured belief, "he was delivered for our offences, and rose again for our justification." We are told by another authority, "that the fire so kindled is widely propagated; that the sacred flame is carried as far as Constantinople; and that even at St. Petersburg lamps kindled by it are kept continually burning."

To adjust the differences between the partisans of the Latin and Greek Churches in all that relates to the management of the "holy places" has been for many years past the great difficulty with the Porte; *and* they attempted to do so, by dividing their con-



cessions between them by the following decree :— “ that in future all Christian professions should enjoy the same privileges in respect of the ‘ holy places ; ’ ” but by this decree the Porte by no means succeeded in reconciling the rival parties. The emperor of Russia asserts his rights by the seventh article of the celebrated treaty of Kianardji, in Bulgaria, which runs thus :—“ The Sublime Porte promises constantly to protect the Christian religion, and the churches belonging to it ; and also to permit the ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make on all occasions representations of those who belong to it, promising to take them into consideration, as coming from a person in the confidence of a neighbouring and sincere friendly power.” This treaty guarantees to the subjects of the Emperor of Russia permission to visit the town of Jerusalem and the holy places without requiring of them, there or elsewhere, duty or contribution. It likewise authorises the Russians to construct a church of the Greek religion in the quarter of Galata, in addition to the chapel erected in the house of their embassy. It also permits Russia on all occasions to make representations on behalf of the church of Galata, and for those who have to do with it.

We do not find that any political differences had arisen between France and Russia on the subject of these rival claims of the Latin and Greek monks until 1836, when the Prince de Joinville having visited Jerusalem, the Latin monks solicited his good offices with his father, King Louis Philippe, and with his mother, Queen Amelie, for the restoration of the keys of the “ holy places,” of which the Greek monks, by their superior numbers and tact, had for a long time held possession, and a firman was accordingly sent from Constantinople, ordering the keys to be given up by the Greeks to the Latins ; but this firman was not obeyed. (It was supposed that the governor of Jerusalem had been

bribed by 500 purses (2,500*l.*) to hold it in abeyance.) In 1847 the subject was again mooted at the Porte by the French ambassador, to whom a complaint had been made by the Latins, respecting the removal of a silver star, which was suspended on the spot said to be exactly that of the Saviour's birth at Bethlehem; and the Greeks were accused of this act of sacrilege.

The first notice of this affair was brought before the British Government in 1850 by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who seemed to foresee that difficult complications might arise out of these seemingly trivial disputes. He wrote thus to Lord Palmerston: "General Aupick has assured me that the matter in dispute is a mere matter of property, and of express treaty stipulation. The immediate point of difference is the right of possession to certain portions of the Holy Church at Jerusalem. The Greeks are accused of having usurped property which belongs of right to the Roman Catholics, and of having purposely allowed the chapels, and particularly the monuments of Godfrey de Bouillon and of Guy de Lusignan to go into decay."

The Porte immediately ordered a Commission of Inquiry on the subject, and the Commissioners were about to adjudicate on the same, when the Emperor of Russia addressed an autograph letter respecting it to the Sultan, demanding the strict maintenance of the religious privileges of the Greeks in Palestine. The Porte, alarmed at this letter, at once dissolved the Commission, and issued such contradictory orders between the respective litigants (even after the claims of France had been confirmed, but now revoking them in favour of the Greeks), that with the view of conciliating both parties, they consented to replace the missing star at their own cost, and to restore to the Latins the key of the Church of Bethlehem. Under the pressure of the two coercions of Russia and France, and at the same time perfectly indifferent to the claims of either, the Porte com-

mitted themselves by a series of contradictions, and seemed to have but little chance between the Scylla of France and the Charybdis of Russia.

At this time (1851) General Aupick had been succeeded by M. de Lavalette as French minister at the Porte, who warmly took up the question of the "holy places." The Russian envoy, M. de Titoff, manifested an equal interest in the dispute, and expressed to the Sultan his conviction that the Emperor his master, would allow of no changes taking place as to the possession of the sanctuaries. M. de Lavalette then offered to withdraw certain claims of the Latins, and to admit of the joint occupation of the places in dispute, when M. de Titoff demanded the joint occupation of *some other sanctuaries* which had to this time been exclusively occupied by the Latins. Of these sanctuaries there were nine inside, and eight outside of Jerusalem, some of which had subsequently become the common property of Latins and Greeks (there were ten sanctuaries which were common to all Christian nations, so far as regarded the right of performing religious ceremonies there; amongst them was that on Mount Calvary\* and the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin).

On the 9th February 1852 the Porte addressed a note to M. de Lavalette promising certain concessions, but at the same time excluding the Latins from some privileges which had been granted to their Greek subjects. This gave great offence to the French ambassador, and he went so far as to threaten to bring up the French fleet to the Dardanelles, if his demands were not complied with; whilst M. de Titoff, the Russian minister, menaced to quit Constantinople immediately with every member of his mission, if the demands of his

\* That which never indicated even an ascent, by means of a raised altar and a flight of steps becomes a Mount, and is called Calvary.—*Clarke's Travels*, Part II., p. 564.

imperial master were not equally complied with. M. d'Ouzeroff now succeeded M. de Titoff, as the Russian envoy to the Porte, and he demanded a firman settling those rights of their Greek subjects, which had given such great offence to M. de Lavalette, that it should be openly read at Jerusalem, for which purpose Aliff Bey was sent to that city in November. Some delay took place in the promulgation of this firman, which was attributed by the Russian envoy to the French ambassador, who had been very indiscreet. He had even threatened that a French fleet should appear off Jaffa, and hinted at a French occupation of Jerusalem, then he said "We shall have all the sanctuaries."

His excellency was succeeded by M. Benedotte, from whom the French government being apprised of what was going on, the Toulon squadron was ordered to sail for the Greek waters. It should be noticed, that the Russian government did again, as far back as the month of November 1852, assert her right to a protectorate of the Greek Church throughout the dominions of the Sultan; a claim which, in the following year, led to such momentous consequences. Colonel Rose, the British envoy at the Porte, observed in his Despatch to his government, dated the 7th March, "The Porte, under the pressure of that and subsequent coercions, have committed a series of lamentable contradictions." It does certainly appear that Russia had some cause of complaint, as was admitted by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, the Latin Church having received a certain preference over that of the Greek *in contravention of previous treaties* with the Porte: to confirm this opinion M. de Lavalette was recalled by Louis Napoleon, and the French government withdrew their pretences to the "holy places." \*

\* Lord de Redcliffe wrote thus to his Government: "The French were content with a part only of what they might have claimed."—*Blue Book*, vol. i., p. 18.

It might have been expected that this arrangement would have satisfied even the sensitive Russian government; but not so—and Prince Menschikoff was despatched on a special mission to Constantinople, where he arrived on the 28th February 1853, accompanied by Count Dimitre Nesselrode as his secretary. The prince was sent as ambassador and plenipotentiary, ostensibly on the ground that the rank of *Chargé d’Affaires* which M. d’Ouzeroff held did not give him the right that was required in affairs of such gravity as were then pending.

At this time a French fleet was hovering about the Mediterranean, and the Russian battalions were mustering on the Turkish borders of the Danubian provinces. It was obvious from the first, that this embassy portended ill to the Porte, since an officer was chosen to conduct it who had distinguished himself in the late Russian war with the Turks, accompanied by a numerous suite, including a general officer and an admiral. The embassy at once disturbed the tranquillity of the sublime Porte, as did more particularly the arrogant conduct of the Russian ambassador, who conducted himself most offensively by paying his first visit to the grand vizier on the 2nd March in plain clothes, passing by Faud Effendi, the minister for foreign affairs, *who soon after resigned his office*. This mission, although pretending to be of a conciliatory character, was intended to involve the Porte in serious difficulties, and it was soon apparent and feared too, by the Sultan, that his Imperial Majesty intended “to trample underfoot the rights of the Porte and the dignity and independence of the sovereign.” It was even admitted by Count Nesselrode to the British minister at St. Petersburg, that there was “necessarily some vagueness in Prince Menschikoff’s orders,” and this became more apparent as his mission proceeded. The Russian foreign minister, at the Court of St. James’, always professed that the

intentions of his government were *pacific*, whilst, at the same time, the vast military preparations of Russia were continued, which, it is said, created some uneasiness in both the English and French cabinets, but from the conciliatory tone of the latter towards Russia, and from their having recalled M. de Lavalette, it was hoped that matters might be arranged "*à l'aimable*," and the British government admitted that the demands of Russia were reasonable (without offence to the dignity of France).

The Russian ambassador's first communication to the Porte was made on the 10th March, when the following demands were urged upon them: 1st. A firman concerning the key of the church of Bethlehem; the restoration of the silver star and the possession of certain sanctuaries. 2nd. An order for the repair of the dome and other parts of the holy sepulchre. 3rd. A "Sened" or convention, guaranteeing the strict "*statu quo*" of the privileges of "*the Catholic Greek Russian faith of the Eastern Church*," "and of the sanctuaries that are in possession of that faith exclusively or in participation with other sects at Jerusalem."

The Porte very liberally granted all these demands, and firmans to that effect were sent to the Russian ambassador on the 5th May, when it was hoped by the Sultan's government that this affair with Russia was satisfactorily settled; but not so—for at a late hour of the same day Prince Menschikoff presented *another note*, demanding a "Sened" or convention having the force of a treaty, the first article of which required, "that no change whatever shall be made in the rights, privileges, and immunities, which have been enjoyed or possessed, '*ab antiquo*,' by the Church, the pious institutions, and the clergy of the orthodox faith in the Ottoman States." The second article provided, "that all the rights and advantages conceded by the Porte to other Christian sects by treaty, convention, or *special grant*,

shall be considered as belonging also to the orthodox Church."

The last demand was not confined to *religious* but likewise to *political* privileges, which affected not only the rights and privileges of the Greek Church, but claimed advantages for the greater part of the Christian population of Turkey, thereby affecting the independence of that country, and possibly affecting likewise the allegiance of a great part of the Sultan's subjects from the Porte to Russia.

The new foreign minister, Rifat Pasha, replied to these demands of the Russian ambassador in a very temperate way on the 14th May, stating the impossibility of their being complied with, and inviting the ambassador to a conference, who, instead of accepting this conference, or even replying to the Pasha's note, proceeded at once to the palace of the Sultan, and demanded an audience of Abdul Medjid, who had not for some time quitted his apartments in consequence of the recent death of his mother, the Sultana Valide, and although it was represented to Prince Menschikoff, that this being Friday, the Sultan could not leave his room; the ambassador nevertheless persevered, waiting during three hours in the palace, when he was at length shown into the imperial apartments. The Sultan, in order to avoid any conference with Prince Menschikoff, at once referred him to his ministers, of whom a change had then taken place, Redschiid Pasha being the new minister for foreign affairs. The ambassador's audience with the Sultan was soon cut short by a curtain being suddenly drawn before the latter.

Redschiid Pasha immediately convened a council of all the great dignitaries of the empire to deliberate on the acceptance or the rejection of the Russian note, and without a dissentient voice, they rejected the proposals of the Russian ambassador, at the same time they requested the delay of four or five days, with the hope that some satisfactory ar-

rangement might be arrived at. (It should be observed, that on the arrival of Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, was absent from his post, nor did he return to Constantinople until the 5th of April.) In the mean time, the British government was informed by Baron de Brunow, the Russian ambassador at the Court of St. James', in the most formal and explicit assurances of his Court, that "the Emperor's desire and determination was, to respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire, and that all the idle rumours to which the arrival of Prince Menschikoff in the Ottoman capital had given rise—the occupation of the principalities—hostile and threatening language to the Porte, &c., were not only exaggerated, *but destitute even of any sort of foundation*; and lastly, that the mission never had, and had not even then any object, but that which had been communicated to the British government." On the 9th May the British government were informed by their ambassador at Constantinople, that "the affair of the holy places had been definitively settled to the satisfaction of the French and Russian embassies on the 25th April."

But not so—for the Porte was alarmed by another note from Prince Menschikoff, addressed to Redschid Pasha, in which he declared, "It was not alone the spiritual privileges of the Greek clergy which Russia had determined to assert, but all the other rights, privileges, and immunities of those professing the orthodox faith, and of the clergy, dating from the most early times, (that is to say,) all the political privileges they might have enjoyed from the earliest ages." There was no vagueness or ambiguity in these demands, as had been asserted before by Count Nesselrode at St. Petersburg. The last proposal of Prince Menschikoff was not identical with the convention so haughtily demanded by him on the 5th May, but just before leaving Constantinople, he addressed another com-



munication to Redschiid Pasha, considerably less objectionable in form, though still not acceptable to the Turkish government in substance. The foreign minister of the Porte consulted the representatives of the four Allied Powers at Constantinople, and they sent him the following reply:—"The representatives of Great Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, in reply to the desire expressed by his Excellency, Redschiid Pasha, to learn their views on the draft of a note presented by Prince Menschikoff, are of opinion, that on a question which touches so nearly the liberty of action and sovereignty of His Majesty the Sultan, his Excellency, Redschiid Pasha is the best judge of the course which ought to be adopted, and they do not consider themselves authorized, in the present circumstances, to give any opinion on the subject."

The 18th May was the last day accorded by Prince Menschikoff to the Turks, to give their final answer to the ultimatum of Russia, to determine which of the two sovereigns was to govern the twelve millions of the population of the Greek Church in the Ottoman dominions—the Sultan or the Tzar; when the whole of the great council of the nation assembled at the house of the Grand Vizier. Long and anxious were their debates—a very large majority were decided in their refusal of Russian claims, and their determination was conveyed, in a note to the Russian ambassador. At the same time, overtures were made for mutual arrangements on the part of the Turks. Prince Menschikoff, on receiving the answer, at once sent in his final note, declaring, that now all further negotiations would be useless, that his mission was at an end, and that nothing remained for him but to depart with the whole of his mission. On the same evening, the ambassadors of France and England called to take leave of his Excellency. Redschiid Pasha had previously called on the ambassador, to explain, personally, the contents of the note, to which reference has been

made, as the final answer of the Ottoman Porte. He told him that the Sultan was disposed to conclude a special convention for the construction of a Russian church, hospital, and convent, at Jerusalem; and that he was ready to assure to the Russian monks and pilgrims all the privileges enjoyed by other nations respecting the *statu quo* in Palestine; he added, that the government of the Sultan, far from the desire to curtail the immunities granted to the Greek church, as the ambassador seemed to suspect, proposed to extend them if necessary. All the efforts of Redschid Pasha to explain these matters, to the satisfaction of Prince Menschikoff, were of no avail, and he addressed (as already stated) a note to the Turkish minister for foreign affairs, stating, that his mission was terminated, and that he was obliged to leave Constantinople, and to remove all the persons belonging to the Russian embassy in that capital. He furthermore added, that any infraction of the *statu quo* of the Oriental church would be considered as an infraction of the stipulations which exist between the two governments, and that such infraction would compel the Emperor Nicholas to have recourse to means, which he desired at all times not to employ. In spite of this note, Redschid Pasha sent to Prince Menschikoff, (privately and confidentially,) a note which had been resolved upon by the Ottoman Council, which provoked a reply from the Russian ambassador (privately and confidentially), deploring the resolution arrived at by the Porte, and regretting, that on so serious a question the divan had yielded to the suggestions of foreigners. In conclusion, the Prince expressed a hope that the Ottoman government would ultimately come to a wise resolution, and one more agreeable to the benevolent intentions of the Emperor Nicholas; and on the 21st May Prince Menschikoff left Constantinople.\*

\* Of the Russian Ambassador's departure, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe thus expressed himself to his Government: "It will be

At a late hour in the evening of the 15th May the Sultan summoned all his ministers of state into his presence, and thus addressed them. He observed "that he had done all in his power to preserve the good will of the Emperor of Russia, and every reasonable request of his had at all times been granted; but now a demand which infringed upon the prerogatives of the Crown which he had no right to cede, had been demanded by the Emperor, which he was bound to refuse. If, then, it pleased Almighty God to inflict on the nations the scourge of war, he himself was guiltless of it, but he could never forget that he was the descendant of Othman; bearing that in mind, he would be the first to risk his person at the head of his troops in defence of the holy territory of Islam."

On the 31st May, Count Nesselrode made some attempt to intimidate the Porte, by addressing an autograph letter to Redschid Pasha, to induce him to accede to the Russian demands; which, if again rejected, he declared that in a few weeks the Russian troops would have orders to cross the Ottoman frontier, *not to make war*, but to obtain a "material guarantee" as a security for the right claimed by the Emperor. The Porte, in reply, announced the promulgation of the hattı sheriffe, confirming the principles, rights, and immunities *which the clergy and the churches of the Greek faith had*

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difficult to overrate the importance of Prince Menschikoff's departure, when taken in connexion with the circumstances which have preceded and accompanied that event. . . . It is but justice to admit, that Russia had something to complain of in the affair of the 'holy places,' nor can it be denied, that much remains to be done for the welfare and security of the Christian population in Turkey; but it is equally true, that a *fair measure of reparation has been given to the Russian ambassador*; that the question of Jerusalem has been settled to the apparent satisfaction of those concerned; that the Porte has displayed its readiness to meet the *ulterior demands of Russia*, in so far as they do not manifestly touch on the foreign rights and independence of the empire."—*Blue Book*, vol. ii., p. 235.

enjoyed "*ab antiquo*," and no answer could be more temperate than that returned by the Porte.

The relations between Russia and Turkey had now ceased, and, to all intents and purposes, were succeeded by a state of war, which had not yet been declared by either power. On the 12th June, Count Nesselrode addressed a long circular to the diplomatic agents of the Emperor at the different courts, which was published in the St. Petersburg "Gazette" of that date.—After a long preamble, he says: "You are sufficiently aware of the policy of the Emperor to know that his Majesty does not aim at the ruin and destruction of the Ottoman empire, which he himself on two occasions has saved from dissolution, but that, on the contrary, he has always regarded the existing *statu quo* as the best possible combination to interpose between all the European interests, which would necessarily clash in the East if a void were declared. The mission of Prince Menschikoff never had any other object than the arrangement of the affair of the holy places."—Then speaking of the "Sened," or convention, which was subsequently demanded by Prince Menschikoff, after the firmans which he had previously asked for had been granted, Count Nesselrode goes on to say: "Loud exclamations have been made against the form of this convention, as though, in principle, it were injurious to the Sultan's rights of sovereignty—as though it conferred upon us, in point of fact, a perpetual right of intervention in the internal affairs of Turkey. We believe that on this point a phantom has been evoked, and that apprehensions are felt, the foundation of which is more specious than real. We reiterate our assertion that, in principle and in fact, a convention with the Porte in favour of the members of our religion, presents no novel features. Such a convention would give us no advantage which we do not already possess, and which we might not have abused, if our intentions centered in

that direction. Such was at the moment when the Prince Menschikoff left Constantinople the real *ultimatum* which the imperial cabinet proposed, and it was only when the Porte still delayed accepting the said note that our ambassador shaped his course to Odessa, and broke off our diplomatic relations with the Ottoman government."

We will now endeavour to show what were the conditions proposed to the Ottoman Porte in this "Sened," or convention, and how far it was consistent with the advantages Russia *already possessed*. The first article stipulated that "the Greek religion should be always protected in all the churches, and that Russia should have the right, as in times past, to *give orders* to the churches, both in Constantinople and other places and towns, *as well as to the ecclesiastics*." The second article secured to Russia a right of watching over the election to the four great patriarchates of the East, and expressly included "the *temporal advantages*, as well as the more spiritual privileges, which they had enjoyed as matters of engagement towards the Emperor of Russia." The third article goes into still greater detail in regulating, on the same principle, "the relations between the Porte and these great depositaries of ecclesiastical and political influence and power." The Porte argued very naturally that the Sultan had not violated any existing treaties, and that there was no pretence for the charge that she had sought to evade them. The treaty of Kiarnardji has merely the following clause relative to the Christian subjects of the Porte: "The Sublime Porte promises constantly to protect the Christian religion and its churches." Since no breach of this treaty could be proved, nor was it even alleged that it had been violated, the Ottoman Porte rejected the proposed "Sened," or convention, of Prince Menschikoff, and his subsequent note of the 5th May, being in *substance* similar to the first, was likewise rejected. The Russian ambassador tried again another note, already

alluded to, the principal clause of which was worded thus: "The orthodox religion of the East, its clergy, its churches, and its possessions, as well as the religious establishments, shall enjoy for the future, without any detriment, under the protection of his Majesty the Sultan, the privileges and immunities which are secured them *ab antiquo*, or which have been granted them at various times by the imperial favour, and, on a principle of high equity, shall participate in the advantages accorded to the other Christian sects, as well as to the foreign legates accredited to the Sublime Porte, by convention or special arrangement." The same objections, however, to the substance of this note remained, the words "*ab antiquo*" being construed to imply a determination to include ancient and dangerous jurisdictions. On the 30th May, the Emperor declared that he would occupy the Principalities, if, within eight days, the Menschikoff ultimatum was not accepted by the Porte, and on the 15th June the allied fleets of England and France anchored in Besika Bay. It is important to notice that, from the date of the order of the fleets to repair to Besika Bay to that of the declaration of war against Russia by the Porte was an interval of *five months*. The last event did not take place till the 4th October, to which we shall have occasion again to refer.

On the 26th June, the following manifesto was issued by the Emperor of Russia:—

"Peterhoff, June  $\frac{14}{26}$ , 1853.

"It is known to our faithful subjects that the defence of our faith has always been the sacred duty of our ancestors.—From the day that it pleased the Almighty to place us on the throne of our fathers, the maintenance of the holy obligations with which it is inseparably connected has been the object of our earliest care and attention.—These acting on the groundwork of the famous treaty of Kiarnardji,

which subsequent treaties with the Ottoman Porte have fully confirmed, have ever been directed to upholding the rights of our church.—All our efforts to prevent the Porte from continuing in this course proved fruitless, and even the oath of the Sultan himself solemnly given to us was soon perfidiously broken. Having exhausted all means of conviction, and having in vain tried all the means by which our just claims could be possibly adjusted, we have deemed it indispensable to move our armies into the provinces on the Danube, in order that the Porte may see to what her stubbornness may lead.

“ But even now we have no intention of commencing war; in occupying these provinces, we wish to hold a sufficient pledge to guarantee for ourselves the re-establishment of our rights under any circumstances whatever.

“ We do not seek for conquests, Russia does not require them. We seek the justification of those rights which have been so openly violated. We are still ready to stop the movement of our troops, if the Ottoman Porte will bind itself to observe solemnly the inviolability of the orthodox (Pravoslavan) church; but if from stubbornness and blindness it decrees the contrary, then calling God to our aid we shall leave Him to decide between us, and with a full assurance in the arm of the Almighty we shall go forth to fight for the orthodox faith.”

The reply of the Porte to the Russian ultimatum was moderate in form, and firm in substance. The Sultan appealed to the firmans lately issued by him, granting full and complete toleration to his Christian subjects, but he refused to bind himself by a treaty to Russia to do that which he had already spontaneously done. By the treaty of 1841 of the Allied Powers with the Porte, the occupation of the Danubian principalities was a direct infraction of that treaty.

On the 12th July, Count Nesselrode issued another circular to the Russian agents at foreign courts, con-

taining the following: "The position taken up by the two powers in the ports and waters of the Ottoman empire within sight of the capital, is a species of maritime occupation, which gives Russia occasion to restore the balance between their relative situations by taking up a military position," and "if Turkey perseveres in refusing what the Russian government still urged as its fixed demand, the Emperor will think himself compelled to extend his measures beyond the limited circle to which he means at present to confine them." This circular despatch of the Russian government, stating that the entrance of the Russians into the principalities is to be regarded as a measure excused by the "threatening demonstration and maritime occupation of the fleets in Besika Bay" is susceptible of demonstrative contradiction, for not until the 1st June did the French and British governments decide on sending their fleets to the mouth of the Dardanelles; the intention of the maritime powers could not therefore have been known at St. Petersburg for *nearly ten days* after the Emperor's intention with reference to the principalities had been formally declared to the Porte. The attitude now assumed by Russia was that of determination to resist attack, but to attempt no further aggression. She was resolved to yield nothing, but to persist in the occupation of territory which she had invaded, and leave it to Turkey to commence hostilities; by this policy she hoped to make it appear that she was only acting on the defensive, whereas in fact she was the aggressor so long as she held any part of the Sultan's dominions, the particulars of which we shall shortly notice.

Whilst the negotiations were going on at Vienna for averting hostilities between Russia and the Porte, during which time these circulars were issued to hoodwink the different cabinets of Europe, immense preparations were silently making for the concentration of Russian troops on the Pruth; the different



racés were stirred up even from the Ukraine and the Taurida, and hordes of Asiatics marched to the common destination, from pathless steppes and barren regions, by order of the great Tzar, who sought to establish his protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The regions through which they passed were alive with armed men, various in stature, complexion, and manners, but united in arms under one common banner, and drilled under the same severe system of military tyranny; their movement was sudden and rapid by two immense lines of march from both European and Asiatic Russia; more than 100,000 men were concentrated, of which one-third was cavalry, and attended with an immense park of artillery.

The first corps, under General Luders, passed the Pruth at Levad on the 21st June, and another detachment passed at Skoaliani; the whole army of occupation, consisting of nearly 120,000 men, completed their entry into the Principalities on the 28th June, under the chief command of Prince Michael Gortschakoff. It should be observed that the Russians had established a party in Moldo-Wallachia, but not of the people. This party had assembled at Jassy even as early as the 14th June, and voted an address of homage to the Emperor Nicholas. Five days after the arrival of Prince Gortschakoff in that city a "Te Deum" was celebrated, at which the Russian general was present; the Russians had then 144 pieces of artillery in Jassy, which with a column of 40,000 men were ordered to advance towards the Danube. A fortnight after, Prince Gortschakoff visited Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, 160 miles distant from Jassy, where he was received by a deputation of the bishops and other notables to give him a welcome.

Respecting the occupation of these Danubian provinces it is easy to show that it was a complete infraction of the treaty of Adrianople; although

they were in somewhat anomalous relations in many respects to the Turkish government, yet the 5th article of that treaty declares that "the Principalities being placed under the suzeraineté of the Porte shall possess all the privileges and immunities which shall have been accorded to them, whether by treaties between the two imperial courts, or by "hatti sheriffes," promulgated at different epochs, and that they shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion in perfect security, a national and independent administration and complete freedom of commerce." Russia, thus making war but not declaring it, had now seized the fine corn countries of these provinces, and taxed four millions of the Sultan's subjects for the maintenance of her vast armies.

The Turks, indignant at the arrogant pretensions of the Tzar, prepared for resistance with the greatest energy and enthusiasm, which had not been so much excited for many years. Even in the remote provinces, the late events at Constantinople had produced the greatest sensation at Djeddah, and throughout Arabia, the pilgrims assembled at Mecca, were ready to assist in the "holy war," and only waited for a signal from the Turkish authorities to fly to the support of the empire of Mahomet now menaced by the Russians. Religious fanaticism had not risen so high for centuries at Constantinople; the excitement of the population there against Russia was at its height, and the government made immense preparations for the coming conflict with the Emperor. A camp was formed at Bujukdere, composed of 30,000 men; the Bosphorus was covered with vessels of every sort, transporting ammunition and troops to the camp; great activity prevailed in the arsenal of the Admiralty, where ten large ships of war were soon prepared for sea; from daybreak to midnight they were founding cannons and preparing military stores of every sort; the Turkish merchant-service were furnishing their contingent of seamen, and volunteers

were being enrolled for the independent corps. Omar Pasha was appointed to the command of the army of Roumelia; the Porte with these vast preparations paid for everything in cash; gold was most abundant, which was said to have been withdrawn from the treasure kept for extraordinary occasions, and orders were sent to the provinces to fill the government magazines with wheat and Indian corn. During these proceedings the British and French fleets were put in motion as already stated; the former left Malta on the 8th June, and arrived in Besika Bay on the 13th; the French fleet, which had left Toulon on the 20th March, was then at Salamis, but the united fleets arrived at the Dardanelles on the 13th June.

The Russian ultimatum already spoken of was finally rejected by the Porte on the 15th of June; when they expressed their invincible determination to resist the aggressions of Russia. They now began to take into their serious consideration the amelioration of the condition of their Christian subjects, so strenuously enforced upon them by the British Ambassador, when a general council was held to deliberate on the measures to be taken in their favour; the sitting lasted until two hours after sunset, and the unanimous decision was to accord to all the subjects of the Porte who were not Mussulmans firmans confirming their religious rights. It was specifically declared that "whoever in any way impedes the execution of these firmans, that he shall be severely punished." The next day the Greek, Armenian, and Catholic Patriarchs, with the grand Rabbis, were summoned to the Sublime Porte, and each of them received a firman confirming all the concessions made to the different religious sects since the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, granting them full and complete toleration, as a proof of the goodwill, moderation, and desire of the Sultan to conciliate all his faithful subjects.

These firmans, guaranteeing their religious and civil

rights and immunities, were read on the 12th of June in each of the Patriarchates at Constantinople and in the synagogue, in the presence of their principal members; they were well received, and a unanimous resolution was come to, to present an address to the Sultan, thanking him for his paternal protection of the Christians and Israelites, his subjects. On the following day, four metropolitans and four civilians of each of the communities delivered to Redschid Pasha the address of thanks. Early in November, ~~Anethemor~~ <sup>himself</sup> was raised to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, thus affording to the Greeks an opportunity, through him, in delivering the usual address to the Sultan, once more to testify their loyalty and obedience to their sovereign, which he did in the following fulsome terms:—

“Your glorious predecessor, Mahomet II., of glorious memory, after conquering many countries, did indeed think fit to adopt a system of great leniency and protection with respect to his new subjects; but your Majesty has triumphed in the hearts of all your subjects, and thus you have conquered all your people: such a victory is glorious to any government.

“We appreciate the grace and favour, of which every day gives fresh proof, and we bow with submission and devotion your Majesty's most faithful subjects.

“The Padishah having, in the fulness of his wisdom, been pleased to consult the interests of his subjects, and to maintain the ancient privileges which the conqueror granted to our nation, we, in our turn, are bound to place every confidence in your Majesty's generosity; to be obedient to all your orders; to be grateful to the ministers as the benefactors of your subjects, to the Naibs for the justice which they administer; to the Vizier and the army for their gallantry; to the Patriarch and all the metropolitans for their moderation and piety. It is the duty of your sub-

jects to remain faithful, and not to depart from righteousness and loyalty. Happy are we under the sublime shadow of an incomparable monarch, that we find protection under the mighty wings of his grace. Condescend, sire, to receive the gratitude of the Greeks, your faithful subjects; the sincere expression of that gratitude is a duty."

We will now briefly glance at what the Russians were doing during this great excitement and preparation of the Turks, which continued rather to increase than to diminish. The former began to oppose every possible obstacle to the navigation of the Danube, greatly to the damage of commerce, and both costly and injurious to the numerous shipping passing that river; the complaints of this interruption were frequently reiterated from the British House of Commons. We find that, by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the Sulina branch of this river was conceded to the Russians, with the right of establishing and maintaining a quarantine station at the mouth of the Danube, which forms the boundary between the Turkish and Russian empires, this being the only practicable passage for shipping.\* The Russians hereby obtained a direct influence over the trade of the river; their occupation of the Sulina branch received the sanction of Austria by a special convention passed in 1840, for the maintenance of deep water on the bar, in consideration of a tax or toll on all vessels crossing it. The bar of mud is about two hundred yards long, which crosses the mouth of the river, and the water becomes so shallow over it, when no steps are taken to preserve a suitable depth, that only vessels of light draught can pass, and these are obliged to discharge their cargoes into other vessels, and to reimbarik it after passing the shallows, when rough weather overtakes them. During this process the loss is very great, and the expense of lighterage, and the high rates of

\* See Fowler's 'History of the Ottoman Empire,' p. 279.

insurance, entail a burden of three shillings per quarter on wheat exported from the two Principalities. This bar is not formed by the sand washed in by the sea as in most tidal rivers, but by the gradual deposit of mud conveyed by the stream; and to keep the required depth across the bar, nothing more is required than to stir the mud which the current carries off. The Turks formerly maintained a uniform depth of 16 feet on the bar, by means of heavy rakes, which they obliged all vessels to drag after them during their passage out of the Danube; but since the convention of Austria and Russia in 1840, no steps have been taken to clear the bar, which in consequence has been gradually increasing, although English and other ships have been paying so many Spanish dollars to the Russians for a service unperformed, besides many pounds sterling for the cost of lighterage, insurance, and losses which this Russian breach of engagement has entailed on commerce.

The accounts from St. Petersburg stated, that the Emperor Nicholas, amidst the contending passions of pride, vexation and resentment, was in a state of great suffering; it was said that he had been deceived by the representations of Prince Menschikoff, who had represented to him that he had only to persevere, and the Turks would grant all that he asked. It is well known, that at the Court of St. Petersburg, there are two opposite parties, who are broadly distinguished by their respective descents from the German, or Baltic provinces of the empire, or from the old Muscovite stock. A large proportion of the statesmen who have done honour to the empire, belong to the former class, among whom is Prince Lieven, Count Nesselrode, Baron de Brunow, and others. The Emperor Alexander never concealed his predilection for the men who strengthened his connexion with Western Europe; whilst on the contrary, the policy of the Emperor Nicholas has been to identify himself with the passions, the political aspirations, and the religious

fanaticism of the Muscovites, and far more than his ministers, he had adopted the spirit which he chose to represent. It may be noticed, that the reigning house of Russia is divided by only two generations from its German origin. The Grand-duke Constantine the Emperor's second and favourite son is said to have espoused the same great national party with even greater fanaticism and interest than his Imperial Majesty; with both of them the cause of the church finds a champion, and perhaps an instrument.

It is certain that the strong ambition of this party, influenced by religious enthusiasm, has for years past been directed to the present year as the fourth centenary of the overthrow of the Greek empire. Whatever may be the intrinsic worthlessness of such associations and prejudices, it cannot be denied that they contribute to the feeling if they do not lead to their fulfilment. Prince Menschikoff was one of that fanatical class that have led on the Emperor, who, it is said, rejects the counsels of the oldest and wisest statesmen of the empire, including the venerable Count Nesselrode himself; there is, therefore, no bounds to the Emperor's unlimited authority, and invested as he may be with such power the greater is the danger in the present disturbances of Europe.

When the intelligence was received at Constantinople of the passage of the Pruth by the Russians, it created great sensation amongst the council of ministers, which was divided into the war and peace parties, the one in favour of strong resistance, the other having confidence in negotiations and in the support of the cabinets of Europe. Amongst the Russians in the Principalities everything indicated their intended permanent occupation of them. Prince Michael Gortschakoff, the Commander-in-Chief, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, to explain the object of the occupation, and directing the maintenance of the actual administration. "His Majesty the Emperor, my august lord and master, has ordered me to occupy

your countries with the armies the command of which he has deigned to confer on me. We come among you neither with projects of conquest, nor with the intention to modify the institutions under which you live, nor the political position which treaties have guaranteed to you. The provisional occupation of the Principalities which I am ordered to effect, is for no other purpose than for that of an immediate and efficacious protection in grave and important circumstances, when the Ottoman government, distrusting the numerous proofs of a sincere alliance which the Imperial Court has never ceased to give it since the conclusion of the peace of Adrianople, replies to our most equitable proposals with refusals, and opposes the most offensive suspicion to our most disinterested advice. In his magnanimity, in his constant desire to maintain peace in Europe, the Emperor will avoid an aggressive war against Turkey, as long as his dignity and the interests of his empire will permit him to do so. On the day on which he obtains the reparation which is due to him, and the guarantees which he has the right to expect for the future, his troops shall return within the frontiers of Russia. Inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia, I also execute an order of his Imperial Majesty in declaring to you that the presence of his Majesty's troops in your country shall not impose on you any fresh charges or contributions; that the forage and rations for the troops shall in due time, and at a rate appointed and agreed on in advance by your governments, be paid for from our military treasury. Look tranquilly to the future, and engage with security in your agricultural labours and commercial speculations. Be obedient to the laws under which you live and to the established authorities. It is by the faithful discharge of these duties that you will acquire the best claims to the generous solicitude and the powerful protection of his Majesty the Emperor."

We will now show how this occupation of the Prin-



icipalities became an actual aggression upon the territories of the Ottoman Porte. Soon after the ratification of the treaty of Adrianople in 1828, an organic statute was drawn up and agreed to on both sides for the internal government of the Principalities, and on the 1st of May, 1849, a "Sened" or "Convention" was negotiated by General Grabbe, on the part of Russia, and by Redschid Pacha, for the Porte, which determined the conditions on which either power could occupy the provinces in future. This Sened is known as the "treaty or convention of Balta Liman," deriving its name from the residence of Redschid Pasha at Constantinople. It fixes the only cases in which a mutual occupation shall take place. The fourth article of the convention makes it "subordinate to grave events occurring in the provinces themselves." The maximum of troops is limited to 35,000 men on each side, to be regularly counted, regiment by regiment, or battalion by battalion. By "grave events" is meant any serious disturbance—the violation of the organic statute or armed intervention of 1828. It is likewise specified that the occupation, when it is justifiable, shall take place simultaneously by Russia and Turkey. But on the present occasion, when the Russian troops marched into the Principalities, there was no insurrection to be put down, no wrongs to be redressed, no violation of the organic statute of the Principalities, so that no *pretext whatever* existed for either Russian or Turkish occupation. Hence the Turks protested against the invasion of a territory secured by treaty, and persisted in refusing to negotiate with Russia until her armies were withdrawn, appealing to the Allied Powers for assistance, who signed the treaties of 1841 (Russia herself being one of those Powers).\* In the mean time, Russia, so far from withdrawing her troops from the Principalities, continued

\* See copy of Treaty, Fowler's 'History of the Ottoman Empire,' p. 285.

to insist on the unconditional acceptance by the Porte of the convention demanded by Prince Menschikoff, and another "ultimatum" to that effect was brought to Constantinople on the 9th June, by M. Balabine, First Secretary of the Russian Embassy. Count Nesselrode demanded that the last convention proposed by Prince Menschikoff should be accepted.

The Ottoman capital became exceedingly excited when it was known that the Russians had occupied the Principalities, and a most formidable conspiracy was detected against the life of the Sultan, on the 4th July; this was only known when fifteen Imaums, or Softas (Mahommedan students), were seen passing through Galata with their hands tied behind them. This unprecedented sight gave rise to a mixed feeling of dread and curiosity, since these Softas are looked up to by good Mussulmans with great awe and respect, as the expounders of the sacred laws of the Koran. The cause of their arrest was a conspiracy to depose the reigning Sultan, in favour of his brother Abdul Aziz. A few hours after their arrest, they were put to death by the bow-string.

On the 14th July, the Turkish government addressed a Protest to the Russian Cabinet, against the occupation of the Principalities by the Russian troops: its language was extremely temperate, referring to the well-known message of Prince Menschikoff, and to his peremptory demands, which were inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Sultan. The question of the "holy places" having been adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, the Protest repeated the strong desire and fixed intention of the Sultan to maintain inviolate, or rather to extend, all the rights and privileges enjoyed by his Christian subjects; but at the same time, from this demand, it added with truth, "it is evident the independence of a sovereign State is at an end, if it does not retain among its powers, that of refusing without offence, a demand

not authorized by any existing treaty, the acceptance of which would be superfluous for the object in view, and both humiliating and injurious to the party in declining it." Under these circumstances, the Porte declares its great astonishment and regret at the occupation of the Principalities, which are styled an integral part of the Ottoman dominions. It entirely denies the general right of interference claimed by Russia on the basis of the treaty of Kiarnardji, and the special claim in favour of the Greek Church, which is not so much as named in that treaty. It offers, nevertheless, to send an extraordinary ambassador to St. Petersburg, in order to endeavour to find out some arrangement calculated to satisfy the Court of Russia, without prejudice to the sacred rights of the Sultan; but it entirely refuses any apology on the part of the Sultan on the subject of religious prejudices." Lastly, the Porte denied positively the right of the Russians to enter the Principalities, in which no fresh disturbances have taken place. "Such an aggression can be only considered as a declaration of war; but the Sublime Porte, anxious not to push its rights to the furthest limits, abstains for the present from the use of force, and confining itself to an open and formal Protest against the action, appealing, at the same time, to the Powers which signed the treaty of 1841 for their support, and maintaining an attitude of armed defense."

This Protest had no effect upon the Russian government; on the contrary, orders were despatched to the Hospodars from St. Petersburg, that they were to break off all relations with the Ottoman Porte, and even to pay the tribute due to the Sultan into the military chest. The authority assumed by the Russian general was complete, and in spite of Prince Gortschakoff's proclamation (already given) to assure the inhabitants that no fresh burdens would be thrown upon them, not only did they suffer severely from the Russian occupation, but it was felt

in the markets from the hindrance to the exportation of their produce, consequently the occupation might be said to have been likewise felt in the densely-peopled cities of the most crowded countries in Europe.

Prince Ghika, the Hospodar of Moldavia, in conformity with his orders from St. Petersburg, informed the Turkish government that he must break off all communication with them; that he could not in future pay any tribute, and, in short, that he had renounced his allegiance to his late Sovereign, the Sultan; to which, in reply, orders were given to both Hospodars to quit the Principalities, and to retire to the right bank of the Danube. The Russians, although allowing the Hospodars to retain their titles, and nominally also their power, decreed that these princes shall have the assistance of a Board of Government, to consist of three members, to be appointed by the Emperor. All political and administrative measures were to be submitted to this Council, and its decisions to be final. The two Principalities were ordered to furnish a contribution in kind; the cities of Bucharest and Jassy were to be fortified, and to assist the operations of the Russian army. The Hospodars of the Danubian provinces were Prince Stirbey, who was appointed by the Porte Hospodar of Wallachia in June 1849, and Prince Ghika Hospodar of Moldavia, on the 25th July of the same year. The Porte having ordered them to quit their seats of government, they accordingly left the Principalities, when the Emperor Nicholas appointed General Von Berdberg Commissioner Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the affairs were administered by the Russian commissary.

Of the public opinion in Russia in consequence of their embroilment with the Porte, some estimate may be formed from the following. When the Emperor's manifesto was publicly known, the Moujiks, or Russian peasants, were seen to fall on their knees

in the streets, and pray for blessings on their good Tzar, the defender of the orthodox faith, the warlike champion of "holy Russia." It was thought that the Emperor would scarcely be able to resist the force of public opinion among his own people, had he even been inclined for peace. It has been already stated that there are two parties amongst the upper classes. One is the old Russian party of the school of the Empress Catherine, who have never abandoned the idea of extending their already enormous empire to the possession of Stamboul. But notwithstanding the Tzar's despotic sway, he is not the only master at St. Petersburg. It is said, that the *real question* is less between Russia and Turkey, than between St. Petersburg and Moscow; that is, between the Tzar and the old Russian party; since for the former there would be less danger in war, than in the vengeance of that party, which has so often shown how they deal with monarchs that displease them.\*

The remaining members of the Russian Embassy sailed from Constantinople for Odessa on the 17th of May, and the Russian Consul left Smyrna about the same time. Russia continued to make vast preparations for the coming conflict with the Porte. On the 20th of July a ukase was published, to raise a levy of seven men per thousand upon the eastern half of the empire, amounting, it is said, to twenty-three millions of people; at the same time the arrears of men (three per thousand) were called up, so that in some districts the conscription would amount to one per cent! Some difficulties began to be felt to support this enormous military establishment, and an application was made to the Minister of Finance to use a portion of the gold deposited in the fortress, which, it is said, amounted to 99,763,361 silver roubles on the 1st of January 1850; but this gold being the basis of the paper currency, the minister raised strong objections

\* See 'Lives of the Sovereigns of Russia,' vol. ii., p. 441.

to it. The Emperor then applied to the holy synod for the loan of sixty millions of roubles; that holy body at once expressed their readiness to comply with the Imperial demands, but alleged that they were the depositaries of the properties of the church for the most sacred purposes, and held their purse-strings closed, with ecclesiastical tenacity.

The allied powers now seriously occupied themselves to endeavour by negotiation to prevent hostilities between Russia and the Porte, the former power having declared that her occupation of the Danubian Principalities was not intended as a declaration of war.

The French government had, on the 27th June, proposed the plan of settlement, on which was ultimately based the celebrated "Vienna Note," and on the 24th July the representatives of the four great powers—France, Austria, Great Britain, and Russia—met at Vienna, under the presidency of M. de Buol, to discuss the new propositions, which were to be submitted to the Emperor Nicholas and to the Sultan. A few days after these representatives agreed to the terms, which the telegraph transmitted to Paris and London. They were returned to Vienna by the same agency, with the assent of France and England, and on the 26th July they were transmitted to St. Petersburg by the telegraph, which immediately brought back the adhesion of the Emperor Nicholas to the note, and it was officially stated to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg "that the Emperor would accept the terms recommended to him by the Conference of Vienna, if the Porte would accept the note such as it stands (*sans variation*), and that his Majesty would then receive the Ottoman Ambassador." The most important paragraph was as follows:—"The undersigned have received orders to declare by the present note that the government of His Majesty the Sultan will remain faithful to the letter and spirit of the treaties of Kiarnardji and

Adrianople relative to the protection of the Christian religion, and that His Majesty considers himself bound in honour to observe for ever, and to preserve from all prejudice, either now or hereafter, the enjoyment of the spiritual privileges which have been granted to his Imperial Majesty's august ancestors, and to the orthodox Eastern Church, which are maintained and confirmed by him; and moreover, in a spirit of exalted equity, to cause the Greek rites to share in the advantages granted to the other Christian rites by convention or special agreement."

Nothing now remained but the acceptance of the Porte, to the Vienna note, which was duly forwarded; it could scarcely be supposed that a document so carefully drawn up by the representatives of the four powers, which did not materially differ from one which Turkey *herself* had prepared at an earlier stage of the dispute, originally drawn up by France—revised by England—adopted by Austria—and assisted by Prussia, in fact, containing the collective political wisdom of the four powers, who were in some degree responsible for its contents, should be of such a character that the Turkish government could make any objection to it; but the promptitude with which it was accepted by the Emperor Nicholas in withdrawing his arrogant pretences within the limits of this note deserves attention. Its contents were known at St. Petersburg on the 29th July, and within twenty-four hours it was accepted, but it did not reach Constantinople until the 9th August, nor until the 18th of that month did the Council of Ministers deliberate upon it at all, when the grand Council of the Divan was assembled, and they at length unanimously agreed to advise the Sultan to accept the note, *provided certain alterations were introduced in the form of it.*

The Porte, although sincerely desirous of a pacific solution of the question, were yet prepared for every eventuality. So early as the 23rd June Selim

Pacha was nominated Seraskier in Anatolia, and a large army was placed under his command; the Sultan had to provide against attacks in Asia, as well as to guard the European seat of his government, and to prevent the advance of the Russians from Georgia, along the southern shores of the Black Sea; which, if unopposed, would place Constantinople in a worse position than if the invaders, having forced the Balkan, lay encamped in the European province of Roumelia. On the 1st September the Sultan ordered an additional levy of eighty thousand men.—But to return to the important document which awaited the decision of the Turkish government, the points to which they were principally directed were three in number. They objected to the indirect recognition of the second paragraph, of “the active solicitude shown at all times by the Emperor of Russia for the maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the orthodox Greek Church in the Ottoman Empire,” and proposed that they should be changed into a more qualified declaration, followed by the assurance that “the Sultans have never ceased to watch over the maintenance of that worship and of that church in the Ottoman empire.”

On the 20th of August a communication was made to the representatives of the Allied Powers at Constantinople by Redschid Pacha, expressing the regret of the Sultan that the Note resulting from the conferences at Vienna should contain “certain superfluous paragraphs incompatible with the sacred rights of the government of his Majesty having been introduced, the Sublime Porte finds herself again under the painful necessity of making observations on this subject” and thus the Pasha expressed himself:—“The Note, as it now stands, seems to us to be open to certain interpretations not intended by the Powers, but against which we think it necessary to guard more distinctly. With this view we propose certain alterations in the wording



of the Note ; if these be admitted, we are willing to adopt it."—It is a singular circumstance and worthy being noticed, that the Conferees at Vienna of the Allied Powers should not have consulted with the Ottoman ambassador, then at that Court, on so important a subject, respecting his own government, who might possibly have anticipated or precluded some of the objections raised ; at least a mark of deference would thus have been paid to the Ottoman government. On the phrases and meaning of this " Note " possibly hung the peace of the world, and it was generally thought, not only by the European ambassadors sitting in council, but likewise by their respective governments, that such terms were sufficiently favourable to the interests of the Ottoman empire. It was at first doubtful whether the Tzar would defer to the conclusions of a European conference, but, from their having been so readily accepted by him, no doubt was entertained that the differences between the two powers of Russia and Turkey would be speedily adjusted ; but now the difficulties proceeded from the Porte, and when the Emperor was informed that they had modified the Note of the Conferences of Vienna, he observed in a tone of much moderation, that " he would willingly make concessions for the purpose of meeting the wishes of the European Powers, but that he would not humiliate himself in the eyes of the world by submitting to propositions proceeding direct from the Sultan." The Russian government further added that, " as the Emperor had accepted the Note without seeking to alter a single word in the form it was proposed to him, he had a right to expect the same acceptance on the part of the Sultan."

Count Nesselrode, in a long Despatch to Baron Menzendorf at Vienna, vindicated the Emperor's refusal to accept the modifications of the ministers of the Sultan of the Note, with all that acuteness for which this great diplomatist is so remarkable.

“On the first draught of the Note, without waiting to learn if it had been approved in London and Paris, we signified our assent to it by telegraph. Could greater readiness or a more conciliatory spirit be shown? We did so under the conviction that Austria looked on it as an *ultimatum*, in which nothing was to be changed; either the alterations which the Porte requires are important, in which case it is very simple that we refuse to accede to them, or they are unimportant, when the question arises, Why should the Porte unnecessarily make its acceptance dependent on them? We can only refer to the declarations and assurances contained in our Despatch of the 10th August, and repeat that the arrival of the Turkish ambassador, bearing the Austrian Note, *without alterations*, will suffice at St. Petersburg for the orders to be issued for our troops to retire over the frontier.” Again—“If we lend ourselves to the admission that the Ottoman government has never ceased to watch over the maintenance of the privileges of the Greek Church, what becomes of the complaints that we have brought against it? by doing so, we admit that we had no legitimate ground of complaint, that Prince Menschikoff's mission was without motive—that, in a word, even the Note which it has addressed to us was superfluous.”

The electric telegraph communicated the following to Vienna on the 14th September:—“The Emperor of Russia has rejected the modifications of the Note which he had accepted at the suggestion of the Four Powers.” This answer had been previously despatched from St. Petersburg to Vienna on the 7th September, announcing at the same time that the Emperor was about to proceed to Warsaw. That the Tzar never contemplated war at this time we can easily conceive: it was evident that he was not prepared for hostilities, which must displace him from that high position in Europe

which he had gained by his well-acted moderation of many years. He expected to gain everything by diplomacy, and he was very nearly successful. He wanted the recognition of Europe of his high position in the East—of his being the first power at Constantinople, and such a note as that presented to him from Vienna would have given it him. The haughty Tzar could not submit to the alterations made by the Porte, whom he considered to be so much beneath him. On the receipt of his answer by the Western Powers, nothing remained for them but to abandon the Note which had been drawn with so much care; they felt that they could not with honour press it on the acceptance of the Porte, and this determination was announced to Lord Stratford on the 30th September. It must be admitted, that the Note was a great political blunder;\* that it was

\* *Russia and Turkey, September, 1853.*—The following is a copy of the Note approved by the Powers represented at the Vienna Conference, and proposed simultaneously for the acceptance of Russia and Turkey:—

“Projet de note approuvé par les Puissances et proposé simultanément à la Russie et à la Sublime Porte.

“Sa Majesté le Sultan n'ayant rien de plus à cœur que de rétablir, entre elle et Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie, les relations de bon voisinage et de parfaite entente qui ont malheureusement été altérées par de récentes et pénibles complications, a pris soigneusement à tâche de rechercher les moyens d'effacer les traces de ce différend.

“Un Iradé suprême, en date de . . . lui ayant fait connaître la décision Impériale, la Sublime Porte se félicite de pouvoir la communiquer à Son Excellence le Comte de Nesselrode. Si à toute époque les Empereurs de Russie ont témoigné leur active sollicitude pour le maintien des immunités et privilèges de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Grecque dans l'Empire Ottoman, les Sultans ne se sont jamais refusés à les consacrer de nouveau par des actes solennels qui attestaient de leur ancienne et constante bienveillance à l'égard de leurs sujets Chrétiens.

“Sa Majesté le Sultan Abdul Medjid aug. régnant, animé des mêmes dispositions et voulant donner à Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie un témoignage de son amitié la plus sincère, n'a écouté que sa confiance illimitée dans les qualités éminentes de son auguste ami et allié, et a daigné prendre en sérieuse considéra-

capable of different interpretations from what the Four Powers intended it. The ministers of the Sultan at once said that it could be construed in a manner

tion les representations dont son Altesse le Prince Mentschikoff s'était rendu l'organe près de la Sublime Porte.

" Le soussigné a, par conséquent, reçu l'ordre de déclarer par la présente que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Sultan restera fidèle à la lettre et à l'esprit des stipulations des traités de Kutchuk Kainardji et d'Adrianople, relatives à la protection du culte Chrétien, et que Sa Majesté regarde comme étant de son honneur de faire observer à tout jamais, et de préserver de toute atteinte, soit présente, soit dans l'avenir, la jouissance des privilèges spirituels qui ont été accordés par les augustes aïeux de Sa Majesté à l'église orthodoxe d'Orient, et qui sont maintenus et confirmés par elle; et, en outre, à faire participer dans un esprit de haute équité le rite Grec aux avantages concédés aux autres rites Chrétiens par conventions ou dispositions particulières.

" Au reste, comme le firman Impérial qui vient d'être donné au Patriarche et au clergé Grec, et qui contient la confirmation de leur privilèges spirituels, devra être regardé comme une nouvelle preuve de ces nobles sentiments; et comme, en outre, la proclamation de ce firman, qui donne toute sécurité, devra faire disparaître à jamais toute crainte à l'égard du rite Grec, qui est la religion de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, je suis heureux d'être chargé du devoir de faire la présente notification. Quant à la garantie qu'à l'avenir il ne sera rien changé aux lieux de visitation de Jerusalem, il résulte du firman revêtu du Hatti Houmaïun du 15 de la lune de Rebi-ul-a-Khir, 1268 (Fevr., 1852), expliqué et corroboré par les firmans, que l'intention formelle de S. M. le Sultan est de faire exécuter, sans aucune alteration, ces décisions souveraines. La Sublime Porte, en outre, promet officiellement qu'il n'y sera apporté aucune modification à l'état des choses, sans une entente préalable avec les Gouvernements de France et de Russie, et sans prejudice aucun pour les différentes communautés Chrétiennes.

" Pour le cas où la Cour Impériale de Russie en ferait la demande, il serait assigné une localité convenable dans la ville de Jerusalem, ou dans les environs, pour la construction d'une église consacrée à la célébration du service divin par les ecclésiastiques Russes, et d'un hospice pour les pèlerins indigènes ou malades de la même nation.

" La Sublime Porte s'engage dès à présent à souscrire à cet égard un acte solennel qui placera ses fondations sous la surveillance spéciale du Consul Général de Russie en Syrie et en Palestine.

" Le soussigné, &c."

very injurious to the interest of Turkey. The Four Powers were obliged to admit that these objections were reasonable, and they found themselves in the false position of appearing to recede from their own award.

When the news arrived at Constantinople that the Emperor had refused the modification of the Vienna note made by the Porte, it caused great irritation against the resolutions of the conference of Vienna. The war party immediately gained ground; the Turkish army was much increased; the fanaticism of the people was thoroughly aroused; and over this excitement the Sultan seemed to have no control, or it was thought that he would have yielded to the terms of the Vienna note. He is said to have shown the greatest perturbation at the state of affairs; and the fear that he would yield to the demands of Russia almost produced an "émeute" in the Ottoman capital, where a strong fanatical feeling had been aroused among the Mussulman population. Some Turcoman chiefs from Asia Minor arrived in the capital, professing the strongest sympathy to the Sultan, with an offer to raise one hundred thousand irregular cavalry amongst them, armed and equipped at their own expense for the defence of Islam. Assemblages of the people frequently took place, even under the windows of the minister's palace, clamoring for war; and placards were affixed to the walls, crying out for instant hostilities against the Russians—"War or death!" The state of affairs was so alarming, that it was with difficulty the chiefs could restrain the army from rushing to attack the enemy.

The Egyptian fleet arrived off Constantinople on the 19th July with twelve thousand men on board. The Sultan being obliged in some measure to countenance these warlike movements, went on board the flagship to review the fleet; and when his Highness ascended the side of the vessel a deafening salute was fired by the Turkish and Egyptian ships of war, and

from the Strand batteries. The noise and smoke gave fresh courage to the fanatical party. Turkey was now passing through a trying ordeal; her sovereign grossly insulted, her territory violated with the menace of war; impending ruin seemingly threatening the empire, and all on the pretext of a religious question respecting treaties which invested Russia with certain special relations between the Greek subjects of the Porte. In preferring these claims the Tzar was only seeking a recognition of certain privileges which *were already secured to him by treaty*, or, if he sought beyond those privileges, they were such claims as the Porte in its sovereign independence was undoubtedly competent to refuse; yet on these slender grounds was the peace of Europe likely to be disturbed. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe communicated to his government, on the 2nd October, that the Turks had determined on declaring war; that it was contrary to his advice and to that of the professed ministers of the Sultan; but that it was adopted under the immediate influence of the mufti and the ulemas. A manifesto was issued by the Sultan on the 30th August, and after recapitulating the aggression of Russia by occupying the Danubian Principalities, and the interference of the Four Powers by framing a note which should confirm the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman empire, proceeded to say,—“This note to which we have referred cannot be accepted, and to resolve the pending question, it cannot accept other than the note modified by the Sublime Porte, and according to the results which may take place, the Sublime Porte will maintain the footing with respect to its armaments which it occupies at this moment, and such is the decision of all.”—The Western Powers then decided to send the Allied Fleets to Constantinople if the Porte should require their presence, whether the war was declared or not; and it was not until the 22nd November that the Austrian and

Prussian governments agreed with the Western Powers in the proposed course of adjustment between the Porte and Russia. A collective note was signed by the four Powers to the following effect, "The existence of Turkey in the limits assigned to her by treaty is one of the necessary conditions of the balance of power in Europe, and the undersigned plenipotentiaries record with satisfaction that the existing war cannot in any case lead to modifications in the territorial boundaries of the two empires, which might be calculated to alter the state of possession in the East which has been established for a length of time, and which is equally necessary for the tranquillity of all the other Powers."

The great diplomatists at Vienna were again busily occupied with the modifications of the Note, if possible, to make them acceptable to both parties. The clause in dispute was the following:—"That the Sultan would cause the Greek Christians to participate equally in the advantages granted, or hereafter to be granted, to other Christians by conventions or special ordinances." The modification of the Porte was as follows:—"That the Sultan would make the Greek Christians participate equitably in the advantages granted to other Christian communities, being *Ottoman subjects*." The purport of this limitation will be explained by observing, that certain Christian congregations exist within the Turkish dominions which are, nevertheless, not immediately subject to the Porte. In more than one place, the followers of the Latin Church have obtained privileges by which, in virtue of ancient compacts, they are removed from the sphere of Turkish jurisdiction, and are subject only to superiors of their own. It is said that the terms of the unmodified note would have consigned to Russia something like a practical jurisdiction over three-fourths of the population of European Turkey, to the

#### 46 WARLIKE DEMONSTRATIONS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

prejudice of the Ottoman Government. This result the Sultan desired to obviate, by excluding those enfranchised congregations from the question altogether, and limiting the rights of the Greek Church to an equality with those enjoyed by her own Christian subjects. It is obvious that the four Powers could never have intended that several millions of Ottoman subjects should have been invested with the privilege of an appeal from Turkish authorities to the representatives of some Foreign Powers. The result would have been tantamount to the surrender of more than a half of the Ottoman sovereignty to the direct advantage of Russia. We find in the general law of nations, no government has a right to interfere with the subjects of another government; nor could the situation of any part of the Sultan's subjects justify the interference of a foreign potentate between those subjects and their legitimate sovereign. Such interference must inevitably trench upon the independence of the Ottoman empire, although it now presents to us the anomaly of three million Musselmans tyrannizing over a Christian population of nearly four times that number.

The excitement at Constantinople continued to increase, and on the 5th September an Address to the ministers of the Porte from the people of the capital was put in circulation, for the purpose of approval and of signature. It demanded war "on unmistakable terms, or an honourable peace." This was a most unusual proceeding amongst the Osmanlies, who were, for the first time, beginning to examine the acts of government with attention and with judgment. Placards were posted on the city walls and on the mosques, calling upon the Divan to declare war against Russia, and addresses to the Sultan and to the ministers were signed publicly by the inhabitants, praying their sovereign to lead them



against the Russians, without waiting for the support of England and France, who, they said, "had clearly proved that Turkey could not depend upon them."

On the 10th September, a body of about forty Softas, students of the Koran, presented themselves before the Council then assembled, and claimed an audience. On being admitted into the Council-chamber, they presented a petition, signed by numerous Ulemas and Softas, praying for war. The petition was principally composed of quotations from the Koran, enjoining war on the enemies of Islam, and it contained threats of disturbance if not complied with. Some of the ministers endeavoured to reason with those who presented it. The only answer they obtained was, "Here are the words of the Koran; if you are Mussulmans, you are bound to obey. You are now listening to foreign and infidel ambassadors, who are the enemies of the faith. We are children of the Prophet. We have an army, and that army cries out with us for war, to avenge the insults which the Ghiaours have heaped upon us."—When they retired, they perambulated the streets, and these addresses and placards had produced such an effect upon the lower orders, that it was doubtful at what point the popular effervescence would stop. The Ottoman Government became alarmed, and applied to the ambassadors of England and France to order some steam-ships to pass the Dardanelles; and, on their own responsibility, they ordered three French and three English frigates to ascend the Sea of Marmora, and to moor at the entrance of the Bosphorus, to protect the property of the Christian population of the city: which shows the importance that the affairs of the East had then assumed. This is the first time that any ship of war had passed the Straits since they were closed by the Convention of 1841 against the armed forces of all the Powers. On the 4th October, the combined fleets entered the

Straits of the Dardanelles, which the Porte justified and explained by a note, of which the following is an extract:—"In virtue of the treaty of 1841, the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Black Sea were closed against foreign ships of war; but the state of war produced by the acts of the Russian Cabinet has placed the Sublime Porte under the necessity of securing for herself the advantage of right which accrues to her from that Convention; and the fleets of France and England, the august Allies of the Sublime Porte, have been invited to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles."

The Vienna Conferees were now occupied in pressing directly on the Emperor of Russia the acceptance of the Note, with the modifications proposed by the Porte. A collision was every day expected between the respective Russian and Turkish forces. Omar Pasha having headed the army, and advanced his outposts to the right bank of the Danube, it was feared that a collision might take place, although war had not been declared. Yet such was the impatience of the Turkish troops that, according to their own saying, "the cannons may go off of themselves." The Turkish army was composed mostly of the Asiatic hordes, those veritable savages of the East who had come down for the protection of Islam. Amongst them was that of the Bashi-Bazouks. The very breath of those fanatical and barbarous subjects of the Sultan was war; similar to those who, four centuries ago, uprooted the Greek empire. Such tribes were enough to barbarize Turkey, and to throw her back to those remote ages when the Turcomans were the terror of the world.

On the 27th September the Sultan signed the declaration of war against Russia, as agreed to by the Grand Council. He is said to have been induced to adopt this extreme resolution by the fact of the heads of the clergy having placed much of their property

at his disposal ; furthermore, he could no longer restrain the eagerness of his people to drive the Russian invaders from their soil. The Sultan immediately decreed that 150,000 men should be raised and organized at once for the defence of Islam. Even before this declaration had reached the Danube, about 1500 "Redifs," or reserve, suddenly crossed the river and made a foray on the Russian side. They met part of Luder's division, fought their way back successfully to the water's edge, and recrossed the river in safety with the spoils.

Omar Pasha had been diligently employed in organizing his wild troops since the early part of July, and with the aid of some European officers (chiefly French) belonging to the artillery, engineers, and other military classes, he soon saw himself at the head of an army in which he could place confidence, and which proved itself equal to all the exigencies of the war. Orders were sent to Omar Pasha to commence hostilities should not the Danubian provinces be evacuated by the Russian troops within fifteen days, accompanied by a large sum of money for the troops. The ultimatum presented by Omar Pasha to Prince Gortchakoff was to the following effect:—"All the strong places in the Principalities to be given into the hands of the Turks, their complete evacuation as speedily as possible, and a guarantee of all the Powers against a similar invasion."

A manifesto of the Sublime Porte was published on the 3rd October, announcing the declaration of war against Russia in case the Principalities were not evacuated by the 24th. It was very long, and recapitulated the grievances which they had suffered from Russia, concluding with, "The Ottoman Cabinet, without desiring to enter into too long details on those points, doubts not that the high Powers, its allies, will judge with perfect truth and justice on the statement just exhibited." Nothing could exceed the moderation and the truthfulness of this manifesto,

in the exposition of the rupture itself. The dispute about the "Holy Places" had been declared by Prince Menschikoff himself to have been "satisfactorily settled." It then proceeded to show that the demands of the Tzar which occasioned the present difficulties were in no degree connected with the competition of Greeks and Latins respecting the holy shrines—they had reference exclusively to the dependence of the Greek Christians upon himself as head of the Greek Church, not only to the prejudice of the Sultan, but of the Patriarch of Constantinople. They included (as both Turkey and Europe discerned) not a mere desire of precedence of Greeks over Latins, but a deliberate intention of transferring to St. Petersburg the allegiance owned by four-fifths of the Sultan's subjects in Europe, and it then stated that the occupation of the provinces by the Russian troops constitutes a "casus belli."

The manifesto was read in all the mosques, and was received by the Ottoman population with the greatest enthusiasm. Patriotic gifts came in from all quarters—jewels, money, and horses were offered for the national service. One of these gifts was the clothing and equipping in one day 800 "Redifs," or reserve corps; but with all these helps the Turks were compelled to a fresh issue of paper money, whereby the pound sterling was raised to 136 piasters.

The Turks were now about to pass through a critical period of their history; in fact, it may be said that they were buckling on their armour to preserve their national existence. The excitement of the Osmanlis was at its height. Of the character of the Musulman, we find that, though sluggish in his habits, he is eager for adventure, and when this is not furnished him by war, he will undertake distant journeys. The pilgrimage to Mecca is prompted more by restlessness and curiosity than by religious motives; the true believer, from Bokhara to Delhi, will set off and ride

for months until he meets with his fellow-worshipper at the birth-place of the Prophet, and he enjoys nothing more than one of those gigantic excursions which furnishes him with materials for conversation for years after.

Great hopes were still entertained by the Allied Powers, and throughout Europe generally, that at a military congress to be held at Olmutz, some conciliatory plan might be proposed to re-establish pacific relations between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. The enthusiasm of the Russians likewise was as great as ever in favour of the war, for the Emperor on his journey was greeted by a triumphal arch erected for him at Tula by the Greek clergy, with the following inscription placed upon it:—"To the renowned Chief of the orthodox Religion!—to the Supporter of the Faith, he will triumph over all his enemies." The Emperor, attended by the Grand-dukes Alexander and Nicholas, arrived at Olmutz on the 20th September, on a visit to the Empress of Austria, where grand military parades took place during the eight days of the congress being held there. It is said that in the conference which his Imperial Majesty held with Lord Westmoreland, he protested his strong desire to maintain peace, but that he maintained on all points the interpretation of the Note of Vienna, and that he would not subject himself to its modifications by the Porte. At this splendid congress numerous illustrious strangers were assembled, the banquets were given in the archiepiscopal palace, which was built high above the surrounding country, the views from the windows being very picturesque and extensive, brilliant fêtes were followed by fireworks on a grand scale. The Emperor occupied his tent at night, which had an ample provision of gutta-percha for the casualties of autumn weather, and he ordered personally the whole of the movements intended, which were not known until the morning, since they depended on the weather. Numerous

## 52 OMAR PASHA'S LETTER TO PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF.

diplomatic conferences were held with the Emperor Francis Joseph and the King of Prussia, Counts Nesselrode and Orloff being the diplomatic attendants of the Emperor, who quitted Olmutz on the 28th September with his numerous suite. On the 7th October he arrived at Vienna, in company with the King and Prince of Prussia, but without making any stay in that city, passed on to Potsdam.

The following is a copy of the letter addressed by Omar Pasha to Prince Gortschakoff, on the subject of the Russian troops evacuating the Principalities :—

*“ October 4th.*

“ MONSIEUR LE GENERAL,

“ It is by the order of my government that I have the honour to address this letter to your Excellency. Whilst the Sublime Porte has exhausted all means of conciliation to maintain at once peace and its own independence, the court of Russia has not ceased to raise difficulties in the way of such settlement, and has ended with the violation of treaties, by invading the two Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, integral parts of the Ottoman empire. True to its pacific system, the Porte, instead of exercising its right to make reprisals, confined itself even then to protesting, and did not deviate from the way that might lead to an arrangement. Russia, on the contrary, far from evincing corresponding sentiments, has ended by rejecting the proposals recommended by the august mediating Courts—proposals which were alike necessary to the honour and to the security of the Porte. There only remains for the latter the indispensable necessity of war; but as the invasion of the Principalities, and the violation of treaties which have attended it, are the inevitable causes of war, the Sublime Porte, as a last expression of its pacific sentiments, proposes to your Excellency, by my intervention, the evacuation of the two provinces, and grants for your decision the term of fifteen days, to

date from the receipt of this letter. If within this interval a negative answer shall reach me from your Excellency, the commencement of hostilities will be the natural consequence.

"I embrace the opportunity to offer the assurance of my high esteem.

"OMAR PASHA." \*

The fifteen days would expire on the 24th September. In the mean time Prince Gortschakoff sent the following reply to Omar Pasha:—"My master is not at war with Turkey; but I have orders not to leave the Principalities until the Porte shall have given to the Emperor the moral satisfaction he demands; when this point is obtained I will evacuate the Principalities immediately, whatever the time or season. If I am attacked by the Turkish army, I shall confine myself to the defensive."

During the great excitement at Constantinople of the pending momentous events, the peace of the city

\* Omar Pasha, who is an Austrian by birth by the name of Lattas, was born in 1801 at Oluski, a village about thirteen leagues from Fiume. He is below the middle height, but of a martial expression of countenance. Having received a military education, he entered the Austrian service; but, in consequence of a misunderstanding with his family in 1830, he left his country for Turkey, and embraced Islamism. He speaks with equal facility the Servian, Italian, and German languages. Khoosrou Pasha, the then Seraskier, took him under his protection; procured him admission into the Turkish army, and attached him to his personal staff; he even gave him his ward in marriage, who was one of the richest heiresses in Constantinople. Omar was henceforward employed in the reorganization of the Turkish army. The troubles in Syria and Albania gave him opportunities to distinguish himself in 1840, and attracted to him the notice of the Sultan. In 1848 he was appointed to the command of the army in the Danubian provinces; and in 1851 he was named commander-in-chief of the army in Bosnia, from whence he was sent to Montenegro, where he found himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. The intervention of Austria put an end to that expedition before decisive operations could be commenced.

was very disturbed; the martial spirit of Turkey was aroused throughout all her territory by the aggressions, insults, and actual violation of her territory that had taken place ere war was talked of; and it was extremely difficult to allay the dangerous ardour that had taken hold of the population. Troops of the line were marching and countermarching—steamers were daily embarking men, horses, and baggage—corps of citizens armed themselves to resist the northern foe—rude Turcoman shepherds, armed to the teeth, arrived in the city for the first time, gazing with stupid wonder at the view of Stamboul. Bodies of irregular horsemen—Koordish, Turcoman, and Arab freebooters, whose costumes and arms—those of the middle ages—were from time to time observed following some bearded warrior, the barbarous grandeur of whose arms and dress marked him out as the chief of a clan. The alarm of war had called unknown solitary tribes towards the battlefield, whose existence had before never been heard of. Some of them were armed with scimitars, bows and arrows, clothed in loose white garments and peaked caps, from the remote valleys of Daghestan and northern Koordistan.

According to the ancient custom of the Turks, the Sultan is required to march at the head of his troops to battle against the Infidel when engaged in foreign wars and conquest. So long as they held undisputed sway over the Christians, they were a vigorous and formidable foe; but as soon as they confined hostilities within their own frontiers, they were compelled, by the interference of the European powers, to respect the Christians; from that period their strength and prosperity have gradually declined. Formerly, the Christians were entirely at the mercy of their Mahommedan rulers; but now that their rights are recognised by the Sultan, their laws and their property will perhaps be respected by the Mussulmans.



Although such military ardour had been excited throughout the Ottoman dominions on the present occasion, it should be observed, that the conscription which applied to the Mussulmans only, although but for five years, was so abhorrent to many of them, that it had been the cause of the ruin of numerous villages—the male population fleeing to avoid the military service. Hence cultivated plains had been turned into deserts, which we learn from their history had indirectly checked the increase of the Mahomedan population. The Christians have never been allowed to serve in the army, and only to a limited degree amongst the Greeks have they served in the navy. The irregular cavalry, or the “Spahies,” as they are called, who were formerly compelled to serve the Sultan in war, formed a body-guard of daring warriors, who penetrated the heart of Europe. These are now replaced by a few miserable companies of “Bashi-Bazouks,” who have greatly deteriorated from the Spahies; the men being generally so ill-armed and badly-mounted, as to be unfit for regular service. These Bashi-Bazouks, who have left their homes in Asia and Syria, are a class much in common with the Jannissaries whom Mahmoud destroyed. They are equally restless, turbulent, and impatient of discipline; and, like the members of that fallen corps, are a bad specimen of the soldier and the citizen. They are still Jannissaries in spirit and mode of warfare. They are nearly all of them petty tradesmen in the decaying towns of Asia, and owners of little spots of land which yield a wretched subsistence, and are glad to leave their native parts in search of excitement, and of probable plunder; they mount their horses, seize their fire-arms, and ride five hundred miles to be enrolled in the army of the Danube. However, to their great disgust, reform has reached *them* also, since they are useless until brought under discipline, by which they may be made excellent troops. On their arrival at Constantinople, their services were

immediately accepted. They were first well scrubbed in a hot bath, introduced to light trousers and the regulation ~~market~~, then sent off to be drilled into regulars. These wild Turcomans are from the country between Sinope and Smyrna, which is imperfectly subjected to the authority of the Pashas. At the south-east of this line, the peninsula contributes a certain supply of men, and it is only on occasions like the present, that the name of the Prophet, or the love of plunder, induces them to quit their native mountains, and adventure into contest with civilised men. They are said to be of superior intelligence, as compared with some of the nomades of the Karamanian wilds, whose condition and number are unknown even to the Pasha of the province.

It may be said generally of the men composing the Turkish army—they have all the requisites for being formed into excellent troops; they are hardy, well-made, temperate in their habits, but not always tractable and obedient. The Turkish soldier is brave, hardy, patient, and docile; he will content himself with the humblest fare, and will cheerfully submit to any privation. He possesses a calm and dignified courage, a contempt for danger quite peculiar to the nation; but the ultra-conservative principle of the Turk, in opposing any innovation upon the customs of his forefathers, has prevented his availing himself of the material within his reach, and the advantages and experience which he might have derived from the experience of foreigners, whom he even now regards with no kindly feeling. Under good officers, he would be equal to any undertaking; but in this most important feature, the Turkish army is altogether deficient. The improved organization of the army may be attributed to Riza Pasha, who had been recently named to the command of the Ottoman fleet. By his remarkable activity and intelligence, he succeeded in placing upon a substantial and effective basis, the previously ill-disciplined troops of the Sultan, by

introducing the modern improvements adopted in European armies, and the establishment of a "Redif," or reserve, which being periodically called out, becomes a second army. The position of foreigners (not renegades) in the Turkish armies, is very questionable; they find themselves looked upon as mere adventurers, whose necessities or love of lucre have a stronger hold over them than that of their own independence. About 3,500 of these volunteers of the hill tribes passed into Constantinople to assist in the war. They were strong, tall, heavy, bearded fellows, with red caps (or fez), around which were wound green turbans; the neck and breast uncovered, and over the ragged shirt they wore a light jacket, equally ragged; the wide "shaluars," or breeches, reached only to the knee; their legs bare, and their toes stuck into large shoes of red leather, which, owing to long service, permitted their toes to be seen. The cotton girdle which confined their waist contained a pair of pistols, and above the hips was fastened a string of leather, to which was attached a scabbard containing a sabre somewhat worse for rust; and notwithstanding their seedy appearance, these patriotic youths marched through the muddy streets with as much dignity as if they could soon annihilate the infidel Russians.

The enthusiasm of the population of Constantinople was still more strongly excited by the publication of a manifesto by the Sultan on the 31st October, in a national assembly presided over by His Highness himself, when he announced that it was his intention to buckle on the sword, to proceed to Adrianople, and march at the head of his troops. It was likewise stated, that the Sublime Porte would agree to negotiate with the Russians only on the following terms: "All the strong places in the Principalities to be given into the hands of the Turks; complete evacuation of the Principalities in the shortest time; the guarantee of all the Powers against a similar invasion."

## 58 THE PADISHAH'S LETTER TO THE GRAND VIZIER.

It is said that the Turkish clergy offered to place 200,000,000 piastres at the disposal of the Sultan. After the declaration of war, the representatives of the Allied Powers paid visits to the Sultan, who desired them to assure their respective sovereigns that his wish was to settle his differences with the government of Russia amicably; but he added, his ancestors had captured Constantinople sword in hand, and that if fate ordained it should fall to another master, the Turks would quit the country sword in hand, or die as soldiers to their national faith.

In accordance with the custom of the Turks (already alluded to), the Padishah, on the 3rd November, announced his intention of going to Adrianople in the spring of the year, and making that city the Imperial head-quarters. He announced his resolution in the following terms:—

“MY FAITHFUL VIZIER,

“I CANNOT sufficiently applaud the zeal and enthusiasm of my troops, as well as the devotedness and fidelity with which all my functionaries and my subjects in general have constantly testified, on the occasion of the preparations which have been made since the day when it became probable that the differences which had arisen between my Court and the Court of Russia would end in war. This state of war being now a certain fact, I doubt not that every one will, for the future, lend his co-operation with still greater energy, and fulfil his duty. The real cause of the war consisting only in the laudable resolution of preserving the sacred rights and independence of my empire, supported by the Almighty power of the Most High, and invoking the holy spirit of our Prophet, I have decided, with God's assistance, to be present at the accomplishment of such a duty in the earliest days of spring. It will consequently be proper to commence immediately the preparations that will be necessary for my Imperial ‘cortège;’ and as my head-quarters will be

first fixed at Adrianople, it is important that everything that will be necessary for the men under my command be arranged beforehand; you will therefore, in accord with my other ministers, hasten to carry all the necessary measures into execution. May the Most High, through love to the holy Prophet, render our empire victorious; and may all those who shall contribute to the success of this task obtain happiness in this world and the next."

We will now for a moment revert to another circular which was issued by Count Nesselrode to the diplomatic agents of the Imperial government to the following effect:—

*"St. Petersburg, October 19, 1853.*

"MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

"THE efforts which we have not ceased to make for the last eight months for the arrangement '*à l'aimable*' of our differences with the Ottoman Porte have unfortunately been without effect to the present day. Nay more, the situation seems to become more aggravated every day. While the Emperor offered, during his interview with his intimate friend and ally, the Emperor Francis Joseph, fresh facilities to the Austrian cabinet to explain the misunderstanding which attaches to the motives stated by us for rejecting the modifications which the Porte desired to introduce in the Note drawn up at Vienna, the Porte yielding, notwithstanding the counsels of the European representatives at Constantinople, to the warlike ideas and fanaticism of the Mussulmans, as you have learned, formally declared war against us. We still do not abandon on that account the resolutions announced from the beginning in our Circular of the 20th June. At that period his Imperial Majesty declared, that in occupying provisionally the Principalities as a material guarantee for the satisfaction he demands, he was unwilling to carry any further, measures of coercion, but rather to avoid an offensive

war, so long as his dignity and his interests permitted him to do so. At the present moment, and notwithstanding the fresh provocation offered to him, the intentions of my august master remain the same. In possession of the material pledge which the occupation of the Principalities gives us, though still ready in fulfilment of our promise to evacuate them the moment that we obtain satisfaction, we shall content ourselves with maintaining our position there, remaining on the defensive as long as we are not forced to abandon the limits within which we desire to confine our action. We will await the attack of the Turks without taking the initiative of hostilities. It will then entirely depend on other powers not to widen the limits of the war if the Turks persist in waging it against us, and not to give to it any other character than that we mean to leave to it—that situation of expectancy does not place any obstacle to the carrying on of negotiations. After the declaration of war, it is not to Russia that it belongs to seek for new expedients, nor to take the initiative in overtures of negotiations; but if when better enlightened as to its interest, the Porte will manifest a disposition to propose or to receive similar overtures, it is not the Emperor who will place any obstacles to their being taken into consideration. Such, Monsieur, is all that for the moment I am permitted to inform you of, on the uncertainty we are in, as to whether the Ottoman Porte will give immediate effect to the warlike project it has just adopted. Inform the Cabinet to which you are accredited of our eventual intentions; they furnish an additional proof of the desire of our august master, to limit as much as possible the circle of hostilities, if they should unhappily take place, and to spare the consequence of them to the rest of Europe.

Receive, &c.,

“ NESSELRODE.”

The Porte now sought by every means to conciliate their Christian subjects: the Greek Patriarch was invited to attend the sitting of the Privy Council, so great an honour never having been accorded to these people before, of whom it may be said generally that no class can be found more notorious for the immorality of their lives, their venality, and their ignorance, than the bishops and clergy of the Greek church (Ottoman subjects). The political power exercised by them was liable to the greatest abuse; but the Porte, since the publication of the celebrated "Hatte Scheriffe of Gulhune," has endeavoured gradually to restrict it: the power of the bishops is curtailed, and they can no longer punish those who may abandon their faith. The sentence of excommunication was more easily put in execution in the Greek church than in any other, and its victims were reduced to utter ruin. The Greeks of the Ottoman Empire are composed of two great races—"Greeks proper and Slavonians"—between whom there is perhaps as little affection as between Greeks and Turks. A part of the Slavonians (the Servians) are already all but independent, hating as they do both Turkish and Russian interference: the others are a small population of savage freebooters, and avowedly devoted to Russia; while the Bulgarians, who have by far the greater burden of the war to support, detest equally both Turks and Muscovites. As for the Greeks proper, it is notorious that they look upon the Turks with the same feelings to-day that their ancestors regarded them four centuries ago, and only wait the opportunity to place the cross once more on the dome of St. Sophia. Of the Greek population it is extremely difficult even to approximate their numbers, since the Turkish government has no distinct information on the subject. The Mussulmans in Europe are estimated at less than a fourth of the Christians, whilst the Christians of Asia amount to scarcely a fourth of the Mahommedans.

Of the first indication of hostilities, we find that Omar Pasha, at the head of 30,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, crossed the Danube on the 29th October, and had an encounter with the Russians on the 30th, but without any great results on either side. The war in Asia had already commenced with vigour. The Turkish forces, destined to operate in Anatolia, Abasia, and Armenia, were in a state of demoralization, which a consummate General, armed with unlimited authority, could not have at once repaired. General Guyon, an Englishman, who had assumed the Ottoman name and style of "Kourshed Bey," was, during this time, in a subordinate position: he was compelled to witness disasters which he was not permitted to avert; the river Arpatchy forms the frontier between the Russian conquests and the Turkish possessions in Asia. At the battle of Alkalzick, on the 18th of November, the Russians owed their victory in part to the weight of their metal in the field artillery. It is usual to constitute such batteries of 12-pounders; but the Russian batteries consisted of 16-pounder guns, moved, mounted, and managed with all the requisite ease and rapidity.

The Emperor Nicholas published a formal declaration of war against Turkey on the 11th of November, setting forth the provocation which Russia had received, and the insults with which Turkey had replied to the Tzar's most moderate demands, announcing to the world the Imperial intention of exacting full satisfaction by force of arms.

"By the grace of God, We, Nicholas I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, make known as follows: By our manifesto of the 14-26 June, in the present year, We made known to our faithful and dearly-beloved subjects the motives which had placed us under the obligation of demanding from the Ottoman Porte inviolable guarantees in favour of the sacred rights of the orthodox Church. We also announced to them, that all our efforts to recal the



Porte by means of amicable persuasion to sentiments of equity, and to the faithful observance of treaties, had remained unfruitful, and that we had consequently deemed it indispensable to cause our troops to advance into the Danubian Principalities; but in taking this step we still sustained the hope that the Porte would acknowledge its wrongdoing, and would decide on acceding to our just demands. Our expectations have been deceived. Even the chief Powers of Europe have sought in vain by their exhortations to shake the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman government. It is by a declaration of war—by a proclamation filled with lying accusations against Russia—that it has responded to the pacific efforts of Europe, as well as to our spirit of long-suffering. At last enrolling in the ranks of its army revolutionary exiles from all countries, the Porte has just commenced hostilities on the Danube. Russia is challenged to the combat, and she has no other course left her than putting her trust in God, to have recourse to force of arms, and to compel the Ottoman government to respect treaties, and to obtain reparations for the insults with which it has responded to our most moderate demands, and to our legitimate solicitude for the defence of the orthodox faith in the East, professed also by the people of Russia. We are firmly convinced that our faithful subjects will join their prayers to those which we address to the Almighty, beseeching to bless with his hand our arms in this just and holy cause, which always found ardent defenders in our ancestors. Done at Tzarsko Zelo, 20th day of October (11th of November), in the year of grace, 1853, and the 28th of our reign.”

The Tzar then appealed to his faithful subjects “to join in the fervent prayers which he addressed to the Most High, that he would deign to bless his arms in a holy and righteous cause, which at all times had found ardent defenders in his

## 64 ARRIVAL OF ALLIED FLEETS IN THE BLACK SEA.

pious ancestors." This proclamation was followed by active hostilities between the belligerents and by the arrival of the Allied Fleets in the Black Sea; when the final efforts of the Allied Powers were again exercised to put an end to the war, by submitting once more the terms of the Porte as an ultimatum for the acceptance of Russia.

On examining the documents which explain the causes of the quarrel between Russia and the Porte, it does appear to the most unprejudiced reader of them that Russia had shown unexampled arrogance—that the Porte had manifested extreme moderation—and both England and France the utmost limits of forbearance. We have before stated that the demands of Russia may be reduced to two points—"A confirmation of all the rights, privileges, and immunities enjoyed from the earliest times by those professing the Greek faith and their clergy." 2. "The concession of all privileges which may be hereafter conferred by the Porte, either by treaty or by special favour on any community—subjects of the Sultan or foreigners." Russia, although challenged to do so, could never adduce a single instance of an infraction either of a treaty or of a firman, or of any act of persecution or oppression towards the Greek church or its followers on the part of the Ottoman government, excepting such as may be referred to the discussed questions respecting the "holy places," which even Russia herself admits was satisfactorily settled by the "hatti scheriffe" delivered to Prince Menschikoff, so that no pretence of quarrel could be actually established.

On turning over the interminable Blue Book we find that Russia attempts to justify herself in the following way:—Count Nesselrode says, "the desire of Russia is to tranquillise the consciences of the religiously-minded by the certainty of *the maintenance of that which exists*, and of that which has been always

protected to the present time.”\* In accordance with this statement the Four Powers prepared the Note, which was so promptly accepted by the Emperor, prohibiting the slightest change being made in it; and the reasons why he could not accept the modifications made in it by the Ottoman Porte, we have already given. On this point, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe thus expressed himself: “The tone and language of this composition appeared to me unexceptionable; and I confess that in substance it struck me as *justifying* more than I felt at liberty to admit, or had even in *some respects anticipated* the course which the government was prepared to adopt.”† And, on the same subject, Lord Clarendon thus expressed himself to Lord Westmoreland: “The reasons given by Count Nesselrode in his analysis of the modifications proposed by the Porte induce her Majesty’s government to think that the apprehensions entertained by the Porte, so far from being groundless, are to a great extent justified by the construction put upon the original Note by Count Nesselrode.”‡ So it appears that this most tangled web of diplomacy, woven by the aggregate wisdom of the cabinets of the Four Allied Powers, which had cost them weeks of labour and acres of paper, was at once unravelled by the ministers of the Sultan, who said that the Note “could be construed in a manner very injurious to the interests of Turkey”—*the Power whom it was intended to protect!*—and the astute Russian cabinet saw it in the same light.

It does appear that up to this time the Turks were very capable of taking care of themselves. They had completely succeeded in defeating their enemies in the field, and there is no doubt that they would have as completely succeeded against them in the cabinet, had they not been encumbered with the help of their friends.

\* Blue Book, ii., 59.    † Ibid., ii., 69.    ‡ Ibid., ii., 110.

## CHAPTER II.

WE will now examine historically, how far the Western Powers could reasonably interfere in this quarrel between Russia and the Porte, of which the following may perhaps be deemed a precedent. In the year 1789 the 'Eastern question' was in as formidable a crisis as at the present time. The Porte was at war with both Austria and Russia: the Empress Catherine was rapidly pursuing her train of conquests, and Austria claimed half Wallachia for her own; the annihilation of the Turkish empire was supposed to be at hand. France, already in the convulsion of her revolution, could render no assistance; but fortunately in the preceding year a triple alliance had been formed between Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, which united these powers in defence of the peace; the affairs of the East immediately attracted the attention of the alliance; and early in 1790 the King of Prussia instructed his envoy Dietz to sign a defensive alliance with the Porte; and pending the ratification of this contract, he addressed to the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg the strongest offers of his mediation. Austria first lowered her pretensions, and consented

to meet the plenipotentiaries of the triple alliance at the Congress of Reichenbach, in Silesia, where the preliminaries of the treaty of Sistow were settled under the express guarantee of Prussia, Holland, and Great Britain. The Empress of Russia offered a most stubborn resistance to the efforts of the peace-makers, who nevertheless continued their exertions. In March, 1791, Mr. Pitt brought down a message from the Crown, intimating that the endeavours which his Majesty had used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a reconciliation between Russia and the Porte having hitherto been unsuccessful, and the consequences that might ensue from the farther progress of the war being highly important to the interests of his Majesty and of his allies, and to those of Europe generally, his Majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some farther augmentation of the naval force, and he relied on Parliament to support the interests of the kingdom, and to contribute to the restoration of general tranquillity. The armaments of England and Prussia were not called into action, nor was war declared; but the exertions of the allies for the restoration of peace were not relaxed, and Russia a few months after acceded to the treaty of Jassy, which brought the war to a close between herself and the Ottoman Porte.

The Turkish squadron now began offensive operations against the Russians in the Black Sea, and on the 31st October they attacked the fort of St. Nicholas, situate between Batoum and Poti, which was taken by some Turkish regiments after a four hours' desperate struggle, in which the Russians are said to have lost 1,000 men, 2,000 muskets, and three pieces of cannon. The successes of the Turks on the Danube were to this time continuous, and Turkey had shown a decision and courage, both moral and material, for which Europe had given her

no credit. Some months before those energies slumbered, but it appears that the Osmanlis were at that time only in a lethargy; the insults of her aggressor, and the great wrongs he was perpetrating on Turkey, appear to have given her renewed existence; this important fact was now patent to all the world. Furthermore that she had claims to be counted among the nations of Europe, in a material as well as in a moral point of view. In her long diplomatic encounter with her enemy, she had shown herself as superior as in the field of battle, and her conduct throughout this great trial proved that she was less deserving of the pity than of the respectful sympathies of Europe, less of its tutelage as a protector, than of its intervention as an arbiter. In any future negotiations Turkey will have earned a title to respect which was not believed to have existed.

Between the 28th October and the 4th November the Turks had crossed the Danube in four places; the first passage was effected at Widdin, near the frontier of Servia, from whence they pushed on to Kalafat, and occupied it with a force of about 12,000 men: the Russians retiring from this point towards Slatina. Lower down the river the Turks, in a smaller body, crossed from Rutschuk to Giurgevo, between which two places there is a small island on the river, which they continued to hold, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Russians to dislodge them. At Turkistan, still lower down, a large Turkish force crossed over to Oltenitza, a village at eight hours' march only from Bucharest, and where a sanitary post was established. Oltenitza was at that time occupied by the Russian troops, about 5,000 strong; they were vigorously attacked by the Turks, and obliged to fall back upon Bucharest. The Russians now advanced with a strong force to dislodge the Turks, who were about 9,000 strong, and had strengthened their position by fortifying an old

quarantine building and an old redoubt, from whence they threw shot and shells, which reached the Russians at the foot of the village, at that time commanded by General Dannenberg; their loss was estimated at 1,200 killed and wounded. The fourth place where the Turks crossed the Danube was at Silistria to Kalarasche: thus at different points they had possession of the Danube, whilst the Russian forces were distributed along the banks of the river. On the 4th of November, a Russian "corps d'armée," consisting of twenty-four battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, a regiment of Cossacks, and thirty-two pieces of artillery, in all more than thirty thousand men, advanced on Oltenitza to give battle, when the Turkish troops took measures for receiving them. The centre was commanded by Ahmed Pasha, the right wing by Mustapha Pasha, and the left wing by Ismael Pasha. The action commenced at half-past twelve o'clock, and at about seven o'clock the Russian army was completely routed, having left on the field of battle a mass of muskets, ammunition, and baggage; upwards of eight hundred killed were found on the field, without counting those who, during the combat, were carried off in twenty waggons as they fell. The loss of the Turkish army, from their own reports, amounted to one hundred and six men only. The Turkish general showed great strategic skill in this affair.

This was the concluding campaign for the season, the approach of winter rendering further hostilities difficult or almost impossible. On the 11th November some skirmishes took place, when the Russians were again repulsed, with loss; and on the 14th the Turks became the assailants, with but small results. On the 26th Omar Pasha established a bridge between the south shore and the Island of Mogan, higher up the Danube, not far from Giurgevo, and about the same time he withdrew the troops, which were in

position on the farther bank, in front of Turtakai, under Oltenitza; and though retaining also the island of Ramadan, he was obliged to concentrate his soldiers rather more in the face of the increasing numbers of the enemy. The Sultan, on reading the reports of the battle gained by Omar Pasha, addressed an autograph letter of congratulations to that officer, thanking him and requesting him to accept, as a mark of distinction, his favourite horse, which he ordered should be gorgeously apparelled, and sent without delay to the Pasha's camp.

Going back again to St. Petersburg—the accounts received from that capital of November 14th, stated that the aspect of affairs there, since intelligence had been received of the defeat of the Russian troops, both on the Danube and in the Caucasus, had excited much anxiety and apprehension. The Emperor appeared to have been alternately irritated and depressed by the evident failure of his political schemes and military operations, and irresolute in the adoption of measures sufficiently decided to carry on the war on a grand scale, or to conclude a lasting peace, the troops which he haughtily despatched over the frontier to coerce the Porte by their mere presence, had as yet been defeated on every occasion on which they had come into collision with the enemy. On the Asiatic frontier matters looked worse, the first incident of the war being the capture of a fort named after the patron saint of the Tzar himself, which struck a superstitious gloom into the army, as well as the Russian people, and was regarded by them as an ominous event. The Russians made five attempts to regain the fort St. Nicholas, which aggravated the disaster. These various circumstances, the unfortunate commencement of the war, the actual position of the Transcaucasian provinces, the increasing alienation from Russia of all the powers of Europe, the scarcity of money



which began to be felt, all assisted to produce a very unfavourable effect on the Emperor's mind at the most vital moment of his reign. The confidence which existed between himself and his oldest counsellors, and even in his own family, was shaken and impaired; his conduct became equivocal—his policy unsettled, and nothing more was heard of the popular enthusiasm in Russia, which was said to have been urging on the government to the most violent measures. It is added that the Emperor was in extreme displeasure with Prince Menschikoff, by whom he was constantly assured at the commencement of the quarrel that he had only to coerce Turkey to obtain even more than he desired; that the Western Powers would not only afford no succour to the Sultan, but would leave him exposed to all the dangers he would necessarily incur by a refusal. Thus the Emperor, deceived on all sides, followed up his formidable preparations until he at length found himself in a position which every day became more critical, and from which there appeared no way to escape without humiliation, events having turned out contrary to what he expected, and the predictions of his advisers having been so completely unfulfilled, it is not extraordinary the Emperor should feel his situation keenly, and vent his wrath on those who first suggested to him to pursue this unfortunate affair.

We have now to record the murderous attack of a Russian squadron on the fort and Turkish shipping of Sinope, which is situated in Anatolia, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, about 100 leagues from both Trebizonde and Constantinople. The town is built on the isthmus of a peninsula, which runs out into the sea in the form of a promontory. The fort extends to the east of the town; but not being enclosed by any moles, can only be considered as an open roadstead, defended by batteries and by the castle, a large massive construction, built in the time

of the Greek Emperors : the population from 8,000 to 10,000. The supineness of the Turks on this occasion was inexcusable. On the 23rd November three Russian ships-of-the-line cruised during four days in sight of Sinope, and on the 29th a reinforcement of three three-deckers, two other ships-of-the-line, two frigates, and four steamers, joined them : on the following day at noon the Russian commander summoned the Turks to surrender, which Osman Pasha, the commodore in command, refusing to do, the Russians poured in a most destructive fire. The Turks having at length cut their cables, and let their ships drift on shore, the strand batteries opened their fire ; at this fearful moment, amidst a sea of fire, the roaring of artillery, the continual explosions, and the fragments of human bodies which were hurled about in all directions, presented one of the most fearful spectacles ever beheld ; the Russian ships fired such tremendous broadsides that the decks of the Turkish vessels were literally carried overboard. The Turkish fleet consisted of seven frigates, having on board 344 guns, and 3,480 men, three sloops, with 70 guns and 734 men, two steamers, with 20 guns, and 450 men. Of these there were destroyed in a few hours by the enemy's fire, three frigates, two sloops, and one steamer, one frigate was cast ashore, four captains of frigates were killed, the commodore, Osman Pasha, the captain of one of the frigates, and one of the commanders of the sloops were taken prisoners, the captains of two frigates and one steamer missing. The survivors of the massacre, about 1,000 men, had been on land at Sinope : 120 were made prisoners by the Russians ; about 3,000 were slaughtered.

Admiral Nachinoff's squadron sustained comparatively little injury, though some of the vessels showed how strenuous had been the unavailing resistance of the Turks, a few of whom swam to land, and clambering over the heights, escaped.

Osman Pasha, before he could set fire to his own flag-ship, was taken prisoner, desperately wounded; the chief prizes which the Russians thought it still possible to remove foundered whilst towed behind them in the Black Sea. Osman Pasha, whom they carried half dead to Sebastopol, expired there within six weeks after his arrival.

The news of this event electrified all Europe; and when it reached Constantinople the 'Retribution' and 'Mogador' English steamers were immediately despatched to the scene of war and desolation, which was described as most horrible indeed; so that nothing in the warfare of the most barbarous period, on a similar scale, could surpass it in cowardly ferocity. The massacre continued even after all resistance had ceased. When the two English steamers arrived on the spot, they found every house destroyed or still in flames, and the town almost utterly annihilated; mangled bodies and limbs still floating about; the dead and dying scattered among the burning fragments, or rotting on the beach, or strewing the sea-shore. It is said that even after the docks and ships were destroyed, the Russians poured in incessant showers of grape and canister on the poor wretches who were struggling amidst the waves and striving to reach the shore. The steamers brought to Constantinople 110 of the wounded Turkish soldiers and sailors, who had mostly lost either their legs or their arms.

When the steamers returned to Constantinople with this awful account of the massacre at Sinope, crowds of people collected in the streets, and accompanied the families of the victims to the residence of the Capidan Pasha, on whom the fault was laid of having sent to the Black Sea a squadron so weak and so unprotected, when at the time it was known that the Russians were cruising along the shores of Asia Minor.

The aspect of Sinope, long after this battle, was described as most deplorable. The town was a shapeless heap of ruins. The shores were still plentifully littered with wrecks or dead bodies, so scantily covered with sand, that the French and English sailors were obliged to dig trenches to bury them properly. A huge anchor lay high and dry on a hill, 200 feet high, and 1000 feet from the sea, recording the terrific explosion of one of the ships; while the half-finished framework of a new Turkish corvette on the stocks, which escaped all damage both before and after the action, presented a strange contrast with the havoc and ruin scattered around.

The affair of Sinope was received with much joy at St. Petersburg, and the Emperor immediately addressed the following autograph letter to Prince Menschikoff, the commander-in-chief at Sebastopol:

*"St. Petersburg, November 29 (December 11), 1853.*

*"PRINCE ALEXANDER SERGEJEWITSCH,*

*"THE victory of Sinope proves evidently that our Black Sea fleet has shown itself worthy of its destination. With hearty joy, I request you to communicate to my brave seamen that I thank them for the success of the Russian flag on behalf of the glory and honour of Russia. I perceive with satisfaction that Tcheshmé has not been forgotten in the Russian navy, and that the grandsons have proved themselves worthy of their grandsires.*

*"I remain, always and unalterably, your well-inclined and grateful*

*"NICHOLAS."*

The "Journal of St. Petersburg" added, "In consequence of this victory, the Tzar ordered that those who had admission at court should repair to the winter palace, for a general thanksgiving. The ladies appeared in the Russian national dress, and the gentlemen in grand gala. In all the other churches of the capital, thanksgivings were offered,

and the populace came in crowds to join in the service. The most pious Tzar thanked the Lord of Hosts for the success of the victorious Russian arms, which triumphed in the sacred combat for the orthodox faith." The Emperor spoke of the affair of Sinope as a feat of arms that would ever be memorable. The two commanders, Kernichoff and Nachinoff, received orders as a reward for the destruction of the Turkish squadron. All the representatives of the foreign powers accredited to the Court were invited to attend the religious ceremony, but the French and English refused the invitation.

The first intelligence of the disastrous affair of Sinope reached England on the 12th December, in a despatch from Berlin. Orders were immediately given that the allied fleet should enter the Black Sea; and intimation of the cause was sent to Russia on the 27th December, when Count Nesselrode was informed of it by a despatch sent to Sir G. H. Seymour, of which the following is a copy:—

“SIR,

“AUTHENTIC information, dated the 9th instant, from Constantinople, has reached her Majesty's government, that on the 30th ult. a Turkish squadron, at anchor in the harbour of Sinope, was completely destroyed by an overwhelming force; that 4,000 Turks perished; and that the survivors, not exceeding in number more than 400, who have been brought away by English and French vessels, were all more or less wounded. The feelings of horror which this dreadful carnage could not fail to create have been general throughout all ranks and classes of her Majesty's subjects in this country. The object with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia, but to defend Turkey, and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that

they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack. The Russian admiral, however, must have acted upon the orders of his government, which government was well aware of the instructions which were to guide the British and French admirals, and her Majesty's government, therefore, are compelled to consider that it was not the Turkish squadron alone that was deliberately attacked in the harbour of Sinope. That in order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters as that of Sinope, the combined fleets will require, and, if necessary, compel Russian ships of war to return to Sebastopol, or the nearest port.

“(Signed) CLARENDON.”

The Ottoman Porte seemed inclined, even after this affair of Sinope, to renew negotiations with Russia through the Allied Powers, but they were rejected by the Emperor, who, having sent counter proposals to Vienna by Count Orloff, replied, “The imperial cabinet attaches to them the essential and irrevocable condition, that the definite negotiations should be carried on between Russia and the Porte, either at head-quarters or at St. Petersburg.”

The arrival of the combined English and French fleets in the Bosphorus on the 15th November was hailed by the Turks with great enthusiasm. They consisted of 44 sail, including line-of-battle ships, frigates, and steamers, in addition to which there were seven line-of-battle ships, Turkish and Egyptian, besides steamers. The Sultan took the opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Great Britain on the occasion of the British Ambassador presenting to him the admiral and officers of the British fleet, whose arrival in the Bosphorus was a striking proof of the friendship of Great Britain. His Highness added, “So numerous were the proofs of good feeling which he had received from Great Britain, that he was positive England would, with all the means in her power,

oppose the unjust pretensions of Russia." He further said, "The world would see how great the advantages were of the support of a strong and friendly power, such as England, and the sympathies of such an enlightened and generous nation as the English; that his government desired peace, provided it were honourable, and compatible with his sovereign rights; and as to the progress and prosperity of the Turks, his (the Sultan's) sentiments in these respects were familiar to Lord Redcliffe."

The Allied Powers still continued indefatigable in their conferences for the restoration of peace. The representatives of France, England, Austria, and Prussia, signed a convention to that effect, in which they recorded their own complete union of purpose in maintaining the territorial limits of the Ottoman empire and the sovereignty of the Porte. They expressed their general desire to stop the effusion of blood, to obviate the dangers of a war that had threatened the security of Europe; but the resolutions which may be taken at Constantinople or at St. Petersburg were not within the control of the Allied Powers.

The second Vienna Note of the 5th December arrived at Constantinople on the 15th, of which the following is the text, as officially presented to the Divan by the ambassadors of the four European Powers on the 15th December, 1853:—"The undersigned, in accord with the representatives of the Allied Powers, have the honour to make known to the Sublime Porte, that their governments having still reason to believe that the Emperor of Russia does not regard the thread of the negotiations as being broken by the declaration of war, and the facts which have been the consequence of it, knowing, moreover, from the declaration of his Imperial Majesty that he only desires to see secured a perfect equality of rights and immunities granted by the Sultan and his ancestors to the Christian communi-

ties—subjects of the Sublime Porte; but on its side the Sublime Porte, replying to that declaration by the declaration that it regards it as being for its honour to continue to maintain the said rights and immunities, and that it is constantly disposed to put an end to the differences which have arisen between the two empires—the negotiations to be followed shall be based: 1st, On the evacuation of the Principalities as promptly as possible. 2nd, On the renewal of the treaties. 3rd, On the communication of the firman relative to the spiritual advantages granted by the Sublime Porte to all its non-Mussulman subjects; a communication which, when made to the Powers, shall be accompanied by suitable allowances given to each of them: the arrangements already made to complete the accord relative to the holy places and to the religious establishments at Jerusalem shall be definitively adopted. The Porte shall declare to the representatives of the four Powers that it is ready to name a plenipotentiary to establish armistices, and to negotiate on the basis above mentioned, with the concurrence of the Powers, and in a neutral city which shall be suitable to them. The declarations made in the preamble of the 13th July 1841 shall be solemnly confirmed by the same powers, in the interest of the independence and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and that of the European Courts; and the Sublime Porte, on its side, shall declare, in the same interest, its firm resolution to more effectually develop, by its administrative system, the internal ameliorations which may satisfy the wants and the just expectations of its subjects of all classes.

“ REDCLIFFE,

“ BARAGUAY D’HILLIERS,

“ L. DE WILDERBRUCK,

“ DE BRUCK.”

Redschid Pasha promised, by his influence, to get



this note accepted by the Divan. The Sultan showed the most favourable disposition towards it, but feeling the responsibility he should assume in the presence of his people, by a resolution which should not have obtained the sanction of the ministry, he required the delay of forty-eight hours, that he might have time to convene the great National Council. This Council was so convened, composed of the existing and of the late ministers, likewise of the principal Ulemas, of the professors of the chief mosques, of the high functionaries in active service, of those who had retired, and, finally, of the generals and colonels then present at Constantinople. The deliberations of this most solemn assembly were extremely animated; they lasted two days, and ended with the adoption of the following resolution:—"The Porte will accept the collective Note of the Four Powers; it will nominate a plenipotentiary to treat for peace, in any town except Vienna; it will accept the declaration of the four Powers, that the evacuation of the Principalities shall be considered as a conclusive *sine quâ non* of the negotiations; and that the war shall not change the territorial condition of Turkey. The Porte declares, at the same time, that it will not renew the treaties which existed before the war between it and Russia." The latter part of this resolution led to long conferences between the ambassador and Redschid Pasha; this minister declared that the Divan would not, on any account, maintain the treaties of Adrianople and Kiarnardji.

As a matter of prudence, and to prevent any attempt at disorder, the Divan came to an understanding with the ambassador to bring up imposing forces to Constantinople. Accordingly, on the 21st December, three Ottoman steam frigates and a division of the combined fleet left Delicos bay for the capital. A proclamation was issued by the Sultan intended to allay the public ferment at the idea of peace with Russia, by which tranquillity was re-established.

The excitement in consequence, even of the *conditional* acceptance of the Vienna Note was very great, and was principally levelled at Redschid Pasha, as the minister, who was believed to be the most ardent supporter of the peace policy; it is stated, that he was obliged to keep himself concealed for some time; and it is certain that the Softas were under the impression, that proposals for a peace dishonourable to Turkey were accepted; the people took no part in that fanatical manifestation, which was exclusively confined to the Mahommedan students.

On the night of the 21st, the Softas invaded the residence of Heriff Effendi Mufti, in the Supreme Council of Justice, whose department related to the application of the Koran; he succeeded in escaping, when, on the following morning, the Softas assumed a more menacing attitude, and assembled in considerable numbers in the place contiguous to the principal mosques. The crowd increasing enormously; the Divan, without a moment's delay, decided on taking measures to prevent or repress disorder. Heriff Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the garrison of Constantinople, marched with two battalions of infantry to the mosque of Sultan Achmet, where the discontented held the strongest muster, and where the tumult was highest. The Pasha ordered the Softas to disperse instantly, if not, he declared he would treat them as rebels: they took the hint and retired. The Supreme Council of Justice met the same day, and two cabinet councils were held in the great hall of the palace of Top-Kapu and at the War-office. The Grand Viziers, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, repaired several times in the course of the day to the palace of the Sultan, who, it was said, was determined, the moment anything occurred, to mount on horseback, and proceed to the midst of the insurrection. nothing took place, however, to require his

presence. On the 21st the Softas formed fresh meetings in the vicinity of the mosque of Sultan Baized, which is close to the official residence of the Seraskier. Osman Pasha presented himself with a column of the line to the rioters, and riding out in front of his men, whom he ordered to halt, exhorted the Softas to refrain from such assemblages, at the same time, he informed them, that if they had any communication to make to the magistrates, they were free to do so, but in becoming order and in small numbers.

The ringleaders only followed half his advice: many of them entered the War Office, and it is stated that their language was so strong that there was nothing left for it but to arrest them; they were so arrested, and their comrades in considerable numbers outside retired at once. During the night of the 23rd, several of the most violent were arrested, in all about 100: the prisoners, after undergoing examination, were sentenced to exile in the Island of Candia, and were embarked the same night in the steam frigate, which after landing them, was to proceed to Alexandria to take in troops.

On the 19th December instructions were despatched to the admirals of the combined squadron to enter the Black Sea, the difficulties of which were at that time great, the climate being most rigorous, and storms and fogs prevailing on the Euxine. They consequently still remained in Besica Bay. The union jack and the eagle were now reflected on the waters of the Bosphorus, where the masts of a mighty but inactive armada might be seen crowding the waters, the stormy state of the Black Sea preventing the entrance into it of the allied fleets until the 4th January.

In Asia the Russians had been uniformly successful against the Turks, chiefly arising from the incapacity of the Turkish commanders, and from jealousies and dissensions amongst themselves. At

Alkalzik, they were completely defeated by General Andronckoff, which is said to have cost them 4,000 men, left dead on the field; the conflict was of the most desperate nature. The Turks were beginning to lay siege to the town which gave its name to the battle, and which, with its fortified citadel, constitutes a most important place on the frontier of Georgia, in a nearly direct line from Batoum: it was ceded to Russia in 1829, and lies to the south of the Turkish pachalics of Kars and Erzeroum. This immense range of the Caucasian mountains, which forms one of the highest and most inaccessible regions of the globe, dividing the Euxine and the Caspian Seas, is inhabited in the east by 40,000 tents of the Khergheses, Turcomans, and Calmucs; to the west are the Tartars of the Crimea, of the Sea of Asoph, and of Bessarabia; on the Asiatic side are numerous tribes, said to be inimical to the rule of Russia; the high road runs through the country by the way of Mozdok: and such is the hostility of the natives, that the couriers cannot pass without strong escorts of infantry and artillery, which the mountain tribes may intercept at any moment.

Of the position of the two belligerent armies at the end of the year, we may observe that the Russians had spread themselves along the Austrian frontier, from Orsova nearly to Kronstadt in Transylvania. It was announced by them that immense levies were on their march to the Principalities: even with all the difficulties of ice, snow, and storm, these moveable legions were making their way through difficulties scarcely to be imagined, and at a time when nature herself had seemingly imposed an armistice on the warriors of the Danube. Omar Pasha abandoned the northern Dobrudscha, and fixed upon Trajan's Well as the limits of his first stand in that direction, which is a little below Ozernavoda on the Danube, to Kustendjeh on the coast of this vast morass, called the Dobrudscha, the Euxine and Trajan's Well, respectively, form

the eastern and southern limits; and here Omar Pasha established himself.

Much alarm prevailed at Constantinople and at Galata on the 21st December (at the latter place but few shops belonging to Europeans remained open); the excitement was increased by the reports that an inglorious peace was about to be concluded with the Russians. At noon, the Mussulman hour of prayer, numbers of the Ulemas and Softas assembled in the mosques, inflammatory passages from the Koran were read, and violent reproaches were levelled against the ministry. The mosques were crowded and remained so, long after the customary hours of prayer were over, the people perambulated the streets and the bazaars; giving expression either to their own resentment, or repeating the instructions of their employers. At one period of the day the government were seriously apprehensive of an outbreak. Precautions were quietly taken, and the artillery were ordered to hold themselves in readiness. Information of the danger was communicated to Lord Redcliffe, and under his orders a gentleman from the embassy immediately left for the fleet, taking with him a request from the Ambassador to the Admiral to send the steamers to the mouth of the Golden Horn for the protection of the British residents in the capital. They were accordingly despatched under the command of the Hon. Captain Drummond, of the "Retribution," and were stationed, together with some French steamers, at the place indicated, and the following day the boats of the squadron patrolled the Golden Horn. It should have been noticed that Lord Redcliffe had some days previously addressed, in the name of all the foreign representatives, a note to the Porte, expressing his hope that the divan would, without delay, adopt any measures that might be deemed necessary for the security of the European residents at Constantinople, and that, in case of emergency, the

Porte might rely on the co-operation of the allied fleets.

On the following day the mosques were still crowded, but the arrest of the more violent agitators soon quelled the remainder. The Sultan then issued a proclamation, stating that there was no treaty of peace being then concluded, and that the Allied Powers had determined to uphold the rights and integrity of the Sublime Porte, concluding with the following:—"Seeing, therefore, that this unanimous feeling has been given in accordance with the prescription of the sacred 'fetva' issued by the divine law as above, whoever shall say anything against a thing which has been done unanimously, he shall without a moment's delay, be subjected to the penalty he will have thereby incurred. This has been proclaimed in order that every one may be informed of it. December 22, 1853."

The actions fought between the Turks and Russians up to this time had been very inconsiderable, their hostilities had consisted more of skirmishes and strategic movements, taking up and abandoning positions, than of battles in the field, the most important one being that of Oltenitza, on the 4th November.

We have already shown what were the respective positions of the Russian and Turkish armies at the end of the year; and will now revert to their subsequent proceedings. On the 5th January three Russian corps had orders to make a simultaneous advance. One was to attack Kalafat, a second was to occupy Karakal, and the third was to move down the Aluta towards Tarna. The three commanders were Osten-Sacken, General Fishbuck, and Prince Vasscletchkoff, who led the cavalry. These three corps, one of them consisting of 22,000 men, commanded by General Fishbuck, advanced to make an assault upon Kalafat, where the Turks were strongly intrenched, and the 13th January (the Russian new year's-day) was.

fixed upon for this attack on the Turks in that town, commanded by Achmet and Ismael Pachas, who determined not to wait for the enemy, but to sally forth to encounter 45,000 Russians, exactly three times their number. At daybreak on the 6th January, they marched from Kalafat with 15 field-guns, 10,000 regular infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and 1,000 Bashi-bazouks, headed by the two Turkish commanders. The Russians were at that time posted at Citate, a village not far off, and beyond the village they had strongly entrenched themselves. The assailants suddenly entered Citate, in the streets of which were posted 3,000 Russians and four guns: the attack and defence were then of the most desperate nature in the village, upon which the assailants brought some of their guns to bear, and a ferocious hand-to-hand struggle ensued, the Turks storming every house from which a shot had been fired, and having much the advantage of the Russians in this hand-to-hand warfare. In three hours the Turks drove them back to their entrenchments. The cannonade was briskly sustained on both sides, but in the midst of the conflict, the Russian reinforcements from Karaul appeared; the Turks were then placed in the difficult position of being assailants in the front and having to defend themselves in the rear: they fought so desperately that they soon drove the Russians out of the streets of Citate, and pursued them to their entrenchments, out of which the Russians dared not sally. This last effort was most triumphant; the Turks burst through the defences and routed the disheartened foe. About 2,400 Russians were slain in the village, among the gardens, and in the field-works. Scarcely any prisoners were taken, so obstinate was the fight. The Turks had only 200 killed and 700 wounded, the village of Citate remained in their hands, and they held it for several days, driving the Russians back to Krajova. By this brilliant affair of the Turks, nothing more was heard

of the intended storming of Kalafat: the Russian combinations were entirely dislocated by the bravery of their opponents. The Turks then retired to their entrenchments at Kalafat, in which place and at Widdin they had increased their force to 25,000 men, with 250 heavy guns mounted on their entrenchments. On the day before the battle of Citate (5th January), Omar Pasha had again alarmed the Russians at Giurgevo, where there was a sharp skirmish, in which the Turks had rather the advantage; they then recrossed the river. The Russians were instantly reinforced, their siege trains had begun to arrive, and they had parked 120 large guns at Galatz, opposite the Bessarabian frontier, and 100 at Giurgevo.

Lieut.-General Schilders, who, in 1829 had taken Silistria, and was at the head of the engineering army, left Warsaw, in pursuance of a command of the Emperor Nicholas, and on the 20th January he reached Krajova, to assume the supreme direction of the siege operations of the campaign. Omar Pasha had been ill for three weeks at Schumla, but in ten days from that period he was able to resume his duties. General Schilders replied to his sovereign, respecting the losses of the Russian army, that up to January, 1853, 35,000 *Russian soldiers had already perished in the Principalities*, at which period there had been but little more than two months' actual fighting; fatigue, marsh-fever, and cholera had swept away five-sixths of these wretched victims to the horrors of war. During the following month there was a lull in the hostilities, occasioned partly by the rigours of the season. The lines of military positions, on both sides the Danube, had been enormously extended on the Turkish side. The distance from Widdin to Silistria was 200 miles, and from Schumla to the advanced posts on the Lower Danube was at least 150 miles. The Russian forces were arrayed in a similar line from the frontier of Bessarabia to that of Servia, when



both armies renewed offensive operations on this vast extent of country.

The accounts from St. Petersburg of the 25th December, spoke of the great activity which reigned in every branch of the public service, of which there had been no example since the preparations of the army in 1812. Numerous couriers were leaving daily for every part of the empire to hasten on the armaments; and agents were sent everywhere to wake up the ferocity and fanaticism of the orthodox population, and to arouse from the very depths of Asia the hordes of Khergeses, Mongols, and Tartars, to join in this great warfare against the powers of Europe. This fanatic feeling extended throughout the whole of the Russian empire against the Turks and their allies, a feeling which the Russian government did its best to excite and influence. It is said that the Russian clergy offered 60,000,000 silver roubles to the Emperor, the government of Kowar 1,500,000, of Moscow 3,000,000, and the average amount of 72 governments was estimated at 2,000,000 roubles each. It was likewise said, that the Emperor was living in a state of great excitement, regarding himself as the chosen instrument, under the hand of God, of driving the Moslems out of Europe, and only regretting that he should have allowed so many years to pass by without fulfilling his destiny. The population of St. Petersburg had been worked up to the highest pitch of fanaticism, cheering the Emperor whenever he appeared in public with the wildest enthusiasm, and denouncing as traitors all those who dared to speak of peace. The only man who was supposed to advocate a peaceful course was Count Nesselrode, and he consequently lost his influence with his imperial master; Count Orloff, on the contrary, as the Emperor's dearest friend, was eager for war.

Of the fanaticism of the Russian population it is difficult to give any idea; everything was done to

encourage their general exultation, which was evidenced by the frenzied shouts of the "orthodox believers;" this was kept alive in the churches, and so great was the excitement, that it almost alarmed the government, lest such an explosion should take place as should force the Emperor to take measures which would be totally irreconcilable with the settlement of the Eastern question.

It is singular that similar difficulties should at the same time manifest themselves in Turkey, where a wide-spread combination existed amongst the rayah population for the purpose of asserting the national and spiritual rights of the various Christians who live under Mohammedan laws. The first sign of insurrection amongst the Greeks was given in Albania; and the Turkish garrison of Arta was besieged by a detachment of these insurgents, led on by the son of one of the chiefs in the late Hellenic contest. Considerable funds had been raised by the wealthy Greeks in different parts of the world, and the intended insurrection was concerted and prepared by men of great ability and energy, who were resolved to devote themselves to the national cause. It was reported that this disaffection was the result of Russian intrigue, as a mode of carrying hostility and aggression into the heart of the Ottoman empire; but the causes of disaffection among the Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Porte are not chiefly of Russian growth. From generation to generation they have lived under the arbitrary rule of a dominant race, holding by the sword a vast and once civilized territory; but intolerant in its creed, and alike indifferent to the honour and the welfare of the rayah population of Turkey, who were in the literal sense of the word *enslaved*. The Turks have denied them justice: the evidence of a Christian was not formerly admitted by their tribunals; the right of property was limited; personal security was set at nought; and the distrust of the government was evinced by the fact, that they have

never allowed them to bear arms in their service. This state of things lasted without alteration through the greater part of the present century, when it gave rise to the insurrection of the Greek people, who wrung from Europe an unwilling support, and from Turkey partial independence.\* But, latterly, the Porte had wisely entered on a course of internal reforms, and proclaimed the equality of the rights of all her subjects. The *Hatti Scheriffe* of Gulhané was founded on the principle, that the fabric of the Turkish empire could no longer be maintained but by interesting in its defence the allegiance and the strength of all the races whom it governs. For the last twenty years the Porte has evinced the gradual but imperfect application of this principle, supported by the energetic advice of the British and French governments, but opposed partly by the prejudices of the Turks, and partly by the intrigues of the Russian embassy; nevertheless many of these grievances are without a remedy, and the resentment they have called for is unabated. L

A vast conspiracy was discovered at Constantinople early in January, with the object of raising an insurrection amongst the Greek population on the banks of the Danube, and it was supposed that many eminent persons at the Court of Athens were implicated in it. In Albania the Greek insurrection rapidly increased, where bands of armed men went from village to village urging the inhabitants to rise; arms and ammunition were distributed amongst them, and the Turks were everywhere put to flight; inflammatory proclamations were distributed in great numbers. On the 8th February, a revolutionary movement occurred at Salonica, when the Turkish troops attacked the insurgents at the point of the bayonet, and they were soon dispersed; but in Epirus and Thessaly they were more successful; here

\* For particulars of the Greek insurrection, see Fowler's 'History of the Ottoman Empire,' p. 121.

their forces amounted to 3,000 men, partly consisting of Greek deserters. To carry on this war of independence, it is added that they were receiving assistance from Greece.

(Reverting again to Russian affairs.)

Count Orloff was sent on a special mission by the Emperor Nicholas to the courts of Vienna and Berlin; the Russian minister at the Court of St. James', Baron de Brunow, having been recalled from that court on the 6th February, and M. Kisseleff, from the court of Paris, on the following day. The proposal brought by Count Orloff was said to have been promptly rejected by the Emperor Francis Joseph. The ambassador did not think fit to leave Vienna immediately, but protracted his stay, on the plea of indisposition, for a few days. It is said that new propositions were brought down by Count Orloff, which, in their turn, were rejected by the Vienna conference. The Turkish Note as adopted by the conference of Vienna was declared by the Emperor to be quite unsatisfactory, and that he would allow of no mediation between himself and Turkey; that Turkey, if she wished to treat, might send an ambassador to St. Petersburg. For any further information, the members of the conference were referred to their respective courts. The conditions brought by Count Orloff were said to have consisted of four in number. First, that a Turkish plenipotentiary should proceed to the head-quarters of the army, or to St. Petersburg, to open direct negotiations with Russia, but with liberty to refer to the ministers of the Four Powers; that the foreign treaties between Russia and the Porte should be renewed; that Turkey should enter into an engagement not to give an asylum to political refugees; and that the Porte should recognise, by a declaration, the Russian protection of the Greek Christians, which was the origin of the quarrel. They amounted, in fact, to a considerable increase to Prince Menschikoff's de-

mands. The Austrian minister did not hesitate to declare, that the protocols which had been drawn up by England and France at Count Buol's request, were the true basis of the conditions they would accept, and that his master, the Emperor, would adhere to these conditions, even at the hazard of war.

Count Orloff left Vienna on the 4th February, taking with him the assurance that Austria and Prussia would remain neutral. Austria subsequently demanded of the Russian Cabinet whether they would object to a European protectorate over the Christians in Turkey. The reply was in the most positive language that "*Russia would permit no other power to meddle in the affair of the Greek Church. Russia had treaties with the Porte which would settle the question with her alone.*" From this reply, the opinion was entertained that Russia would consent to no treaty of peace which did not, directly or indirectly, secure to her everything that was demanded by Prince Menschikoff at Constantinople, but to give another chance, a Turkish note of settlement of the great question was presented to the conference at Vienna on the 13th January, approved of, and forwarded by them immediately to St. Petersburg.

An autograph letter was addressed by Louis Napoleon to the Emperor Nicholas on the 29th January, which arrived at St. Petersburg on the 6th February. M. de Castelbacque immediately apprised Count Nesselrode that he wished to present a letter to the Tzar from the Emperor of the French. It is contrary to Russian court etiquette to speak to the Emperor of Russia on public business after four o'clock in the afternoon; nevertheless, Count Nesselrode apprised M. de Castelbacque that he might present himself at the palace, although the Emperor was suffering from gout. The French ambassador, accordingly, delivered the letter on the afternoon of the 6th.

The Tzar appeared to be painfully affected on reading it. He then spoke a few words in a low tone in Russ, which the French ambassador did not understand. The Tzar recovered his composure almost immediately after, and told M. de Castlereagh that he would return an answer in a few days. This answer was dated St. Petersburg, February 24th, and was to the following effect: "If his Imperial Majesty extends his hand to me as I extend mine, we may, perhaps, arrive at an understanding. Let the French fleet prevent the Turks from sending reinforcements to the theatre of war, and let the Turks send me a plenipotentiary to negotiate, whom I will receive as befits his character. The conditions already made known to the conference at Vienna are the sole basis on which I will consent to treat."

On the 28th February, the Governments of England and France resolved to address to the Emperor of Russia a formal summons, calling upon him to give, in six days, a solemn promise and engagement that he will cause his troops to evacuate the Principalities of the Danube on or before the 30th April. It does not appear that this principle of policy was adopted by the Allied Powers, in consequence of any treaty binding them to the maintenance of the Ottoman empire, since the treaty of 1841 to which Russia was a party, *does not thus bind the European powers*. The British ambassador at St. Petersburg, Sir H. Seymour, had left that capital on the 18th February without seeing the Emperor, intimation having been given to him that his passports were ready, and the French ambassador quitted that capital on the evening of the 21st February. According to the "St. Petersburg Journal," the Emperor having declared the line pursued by the two Western Powers to be a severe blow aimed at the rights of the Tzar in his character of a belligerent sovereign, had thought it right to protest against their acts

of aggression, and to suspend diplomatic relations with England and France.

Immense preparations were immediately made in Russia for prosecuting the war. An ukase was issued for the levy of fresh regiments to recruit the active army, and nine men per 1,000 were ordered to be raised. The greatest haste and punctuality was impressed upon the Senate as a foremost duty. The levy to commence on the 1st March and to finish on the 15th April. By a special provision, the Jews subject to this conscription were to furnish ten, instead of nine per 1,000. Upon the male population only it would amount to three per cent., since two-thirds of the whole are women and children, and men past labour. The population on which this levy was intended to fall could not be less than thirty millions. The number of men to be raised would amount to from 270,000 to 300,000 men. An appeal was made to the holy synod at the same time for a loan. Voluntary contributions were required from all classes of the population, in a tone which left very little option to the contributors, and a large issue of paper money was decreed, which had the effect of reducing considerably the value of the paper currency.

(To return to the Greek insurrection).

It was now rapidly spreading in Epirus, the Turkish empire being equally assailed by its internal as well as by its external enemies. The following proclamation was issued by the insurgents: "We, the undersigned inhabitants, primates and elders of Baconica, in the province of Arta, sighing under the pressure of the exorbitant taxation which has been imposed on us by Ottoman conquerors, who are not only incapable of civilization, but, besides, violate the chastity of our maidens, do renew the struggle of 1821, and swear by the name of the Almighty and by our sacred fatherland in no case and under no plea to lay down our arms until we have obtained our liberty. Now, at

the commencement of this struggle we hope to move the sympathy of our brethren of the free Greeks and of those groaning under the Ottoman yoke, so that they may take up arms to renew the holy war of 1821, and fight for our fatherland and for our inalienable rights. The war is holy and just, and no one who considers the weight of our burden and the right of nations will utter a word in defence of our barbarous oppressors, or advocate the cause of the crescent which is planted on the summit of our sacred Church. Up then, brethren, rush to battle, throw off this hated yoke of our tyrants, and, with us, loudly proclaim to God and the world that we do battle for our fatherland, and that the Most High is our shield of defence," (with twelve signatures).

The following oath was taken by all those enlisted in the cause:—"I swear by the holy gospels, by the holy Trinity, and by Him crucified, that I take up arms which shall not be laid down until our oppressors are driven from the houses of my fathers, and my fatherland is free. I also swear by an Almighty God to be faithful to my flag, and, if necessary, to shed the last drop of my blood in defence of my comrades."

The Greek insurrection was now becoming very formidable, and consequently embarrassing to the Ottoman government. Arta had been taken on the 8th February by a band of insurgents under a celebrated leader Karaeskures. Prevesa was threatened; the Suliotes had once more raised the standard of the cross, and the Christian forces were advancing on Janinea-Servia, and Montenegro threatened to join them. The government of king Otho was entirely without the means of resisting the excitement; and even the schools of Athens were closed to prevent the students rushing to the chiefs. It was not thought that the Greeks were at this time in a condition to resuscitate the empire of the East; but the Russians were expecting a general insurrec-



tion of the Christian population throughout the Turkish empire, and great successes attended the insurgents who were everywhere receiving reinforcements. The garrison of Platina capitulated, and Petz surrendered without attempting to resist, when the Greeks set fire to the Turkish barracks, and invested the sea-port of Prevesa. These conflicts were likely to revive the ancient and fierce animosities of the Turks and Christians, and to place the Greeks themselves in a false position with the Christian Powers. Independence was regarded by them as a natural cause, quite irrespective of the Russian aggressions on Turkey, which was rendered formidable by the national character which it assumed, and by the oppressions to which they had been long subjected. The rural population, oppressed by fiscal exactions, and subjected to intolerable acts of violence and injustice, could not be expected to retain any but the most rancorous feeling towards their persecutors. A war of races and religions conducted by irregular troops against a warlike and exasperated people must give rise to the most deplorable scenes which can be imagined. Four provinces in Lower Epirus had already risen—the districts of Sconlicara, Rudoritzi, Zoumorka, and Agrapha, where more than 2,000 men were under arms; their flag bearing the Greek cross on a blue ground, with the motto of the *Labarum*: the ancient standard of Byzantium, “Conquer by this.” In their proclamation they said that, “Being no longer able to bear the barbarism which oppresses them—the violation of all law, the pillage of their property, the dishonour of their daughters—they have taken arms to reconquer their liberty and to continue the work of 1821, which for them has only been interrupted.” They then took an oath to die to the last man rather than submit themselves again to the Turks. The governor of Arta sent against them a detachment commanded by Zeinehy, whose ferocious soldiers, in

passing through the village of Peta, pillaged and desecrated the church, but they were soon met by the insurgents, who beat them completely, and killed a considerable number, with their chief himself. A second engagement took place, in which the Turks were again beaten, and Arta was taken as already related, and Prevesa capitulated. The insurrection rapidly gained ground, and extended as far as Soulé, that formidable nest of warriors, whom even the terrible Ali Pasha could never subdue. A great number of the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands crossed over to Epirus to help their countrymen. The people of free Greece were full of enthusiasm, which the government restrained with the greatest difficulty, and at the expense of its own popularity. The son of the celebrated chief, Caracaski, who fell in the first revolution at the siege of Athens, left his regiment and proceeded to the frontier to join the insurgents, to whom his name would have given great weight, but the government succeeded in bringing him back to his duty.

We go back once more to Russia. On the 21st February, the following manifesto was addressed by the Emperor Nicholas to his people :—

“ WE, NICHOLAS, &c.

“ We have already informed our beloved and faithful subjects of the progress of our disagreement with the Ottoman Porte. Since then, although hostilities have commenced, we have not ceased sincerely to wish, as we still wish, the cessation of bloodshed. We entertained even the hope that reflection and time would convince the Turkish government of its misconceptions engendered by treacherous instigations, in which our just demands, founded on treaties, have been represented as attempts at its independence, veiling intentions of aggrandizement. Vain, however, have been our expectations thus far. The English and French govern-

ments have sided with Turkey, and the appearance of the combined fleets off Constantinople served as a further incentive to its obstinacy; and now have the Western Powers, without previously declaring war, sent their fleets into the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks, to prevent the free navigation of our vessels of war for the defence of our coasts. After a course of proceeding, so unheard of among civilized nations, we recalled our ambassadors from England and France, and have broken off all political intercourse with these Powers. Thus England and France have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, combating for the orthodox faith. But Russia will not betray her holy mission; and if enemies infringe her frontiers, we are ready to meet them with the firmness bequeathed to us by our forefathers. Are we not still the same Russian nation to whose exploits the memorable year of 1812 bears witness? May the Almighty assist us to prove this by deeds! With this hope, combating for our persecuted brethren, followers of the faith of Christ—with one accord let all Russia exclaim, ‘O Lord our Redeemer, whom shall we fear? May God be glorified and his enemies be scattered.’”

Immense preparations were consequently made at St. Petersburg to meet the coming struggle, and every effort was strained to give it the character of a religious warfare; the Greek cross was elevated as the sanctifying symbol of the present war, and loud shouts were heard on all sides of “orthodox faith,” “holy confidence,” “holy Russia,” &c.; even texts from the Holy Scriptures became mingled with the conversation of the fashionable saloons. The Emperor himself mixed them up in his addresses, publicly haranguing and preaching as it were at the same time. The “St. Petersburg Gazette” of the 16th February announced the rupture of diplomatic

relations between Russia and the two great Western Powers.

It may not be deemed irrelative to our history of "The War," to notice the efforts that were made by a deputation from the religious Society of Friends to avert the horrors of a European war; a deputation, consisting of Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, Robert Charleton of Bristol, and Henry Pease of Darlington, left London on the 20th January, and proceeded by way of Berlin, Königsberg, and Riga to St. Petersburg, where they arrived on the 2nd February. As the mission was undertaken purely on religious grounds, and was wholly irrespective of political considerations, the deputation on arriving at St. Petersburg made a direct application to Count Nesselrode, instead of seeking the intervention of the British ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, and through the prompt courtesy of the foreign minister the following address was presented to the Emperor at the Winter Palace on the 10th February:—

"To Nicholas, Emperor of all the Russias, may it please the Emperor,—We, the undersigned members of a meeting representing the religious Society of Friends, commonly called 'Quakers,' in Great Britain, venture to approach the imperial presence under a deep conviction of religious duty, and in the constraining love of Christ our Saviour. We are moreover encouraged so to do by the many proofs of condescension and Christian kindness manifested by thy late illustrious brother, the Emperor Alexander, as well as by thy honoured mother, to some of our brethren in religious profession. It is well known that, apart from all political considerations, we have as a Christian church uniformly upheld a testimony against all war, on the simple ground that it is utterly condemned by the precepts of Christianity, as well as altogether incompatible with the spirit of its Divine Founder, who is

emphatically styled the 'Prince of Peace;' this conviction we have repeatedly pressed upon our own rulers, and often in language of bold but respectful remonstrances have we urged upon them the maintenance of peace, as the true policy as well as manifest duty of a Christian government. And now, O, great prince, permit us to express the sorrow which fills our hearts as Christians and as men in contemplating the probability of war in any portion of the continent of Europe. Deeply to be deplored would it be, were that peace (which to so large an extent has prevailed for so many years) exchanged for all the horrors of war, with all its attendant moral and physical suffering. It is not our business, nor do we presume to offer any opinion upon the questions now at issue between the imperial government of Russia and that of any other country; but estimating the exalted condition in which Divine Providence has placed thee, and the solemn responsibilities devolving upon thee, not only as an earthly potentate but also as a believer in that gospel which proclaims 'peace on earth and good-will toward men,' we implore Him by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, so to influence thy heart and to direct thy counsels at this momentous crisis, that thou mayest practically exhibit to the nations, and even to those who do profess the like 'precious faith,' the efficacy of the gospel of Christ, and the universal application of his command, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.' The more fully the Christian is persuaded of the justice of his own cause, the greater the magnanimity in the exercise of forbearance. May the Lord make thee the honoured instrument of exemplifying this true nobility, thereby securing to thyself and to thy vast dominions that true glory and those rich blessings which could never

result from the most successful appeal to arms. Thus, O mighty prince, may the miseries and desolations of war be averted, and in that solemn day, when every one of us shall give account of himself to God, may the benediction of thy Redeemer apply to thee, 'Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God;' and mayest thou be permitted, through a Saviour's love, to exchange an earthly for a heavenly crown, 'a crown of glory that fadeth not away.'" Dated London, 11th of 1st month, 1854.

✓ The Emperor, after listening with kind attention to the address, said he wished to offer some explanations of his views as to the causes of the present unhappy differences: his observations in the course of the conversation were nearly as follows. "We received the blessings of Christianity from the Greek Empire, and this has established and maintained ever since a link of connexion between Russia and that power. The ties that have thus united the two countries have subsisted for nine hundred years, and were not severed by the conquest of Russia by the Tartars, and when at a later period our country succeeded in shaking off that yoke, and the Greek Empire in its turn fell under the sway of the Turks, we still continued to take a lively interest in the welfare of our co-religionists there, and when Russia became powerful enough to resist the Turks, and to dictate the terms of peace, we paid particular attention to the well-being of the Greek Church, and procured the insertion in successive treaties of most important articles in her favour. I have myself acted as my predecessor had done, and the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, was as explicit as the previous ones in this respect.

"Turkey, on her part, recognized this right of religious interference, and fulfilled her engagement until within the last year or two, when for the first time she gave me reason to complain. I will not now ad-

vert to the parties who were her principal instigators on that occasion : suffice it to say, that it became my duty to interfere, and to draw from Turkey the fulfilment of her engagements. My representations were pressing, but friendly, and I have every reason to believe that matters would soon have been settled, if Turkey had not been induced by other parties to believe that I had other objects in view—that I was aiming at conquest, at aggrandizement, and the ruin of Turkey. I have solemnly disclaimed, and do now as solemnly disclaim, every such motive. I do not desire war, I abhor it as sincerely as you do, and am ready to forget the past if only the opportunity be afforded me. I have great esteem for your country, and a sincere affection for your Queen, whom I admire not only as a sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother. I have placed full confidence in her, and have acted towards her in a frank and friendly spirit. I felt it my duty to call her attention to future dangers, which I considered sooner or later likely to arise in the East, in consequence of the existing state of things. What on my part was prudent foresight, has been unfairly construed in your country into a designing policy, and an ambitious desire of conquest. This has deeply wounded my feelings and afflicted my heart : personal insults and invectives I regard with indifference ; it is beneath my dignity to notice them, and I am ready to forgive all that is personal to me, and to hold out my hand to my enemies in the true Christian spirit. I cannot understand what cause of complaint your nation has against Russia. I am anxious to avoid war by all possible means. I will not attack, and shall only act in self-defence. I cannot be indifferent to what concerns the honour of my country. I have a duty to perform as a sovereign : as a Christian, I am ready to comply with the precepts of religion. On the present occasion, my great duty is to attend to the interests and honour of my country.”

## 102 THE DEPUTATION INTRODUCED TO THE EMPRESS.

The deputation then remarked that, as their mission was not of a political character, but intended simply to convey to the Emperor the sentiments of their own society, as a religious body, they did not feel it to be their place to enter into any of the questions involved in the present dispute, but with the Emperor's permission, they would be glad to call his attention especially to a few points. They said that they and many others in their own country had incurred the disfavour of the supporters of the present military system, by advocating the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. They also remarked, that seeing while Mahomedanism avowedly justifies the employment of the sword in propagating its doctrine, Christianity is emphatically a religion of peace, there appeared (with reference to the present dispute) a peculiar propriety in a Christian Emperor exercising forbearance and forgiveness. And they added, that in the event of a European war, among the thousands who would be its victims, those who were the principal causes of it would not probably be the greatest sufferers, but that the heaviest calamities would fall on innocent men, with their wives and children.

The Emperor, before quitting the apartment, informed the deputation, that the Empress was desirous of seeing them; they were accordingly at once introduced to her Majesty and to the Grand-duchess Olga, with whom they had an agreeable interview. The deputation were subsequently informed, through Baron Nicolay, that the Emperor wished to transmit to the Society of Friends a written reply to their address, which was accordingly forwarded to them previously to their departure from St. Petersburg, in the French language, and comprising very much what had been said by his Majesty to the deputation.

What the Emperor alluded to as having been "unfairly construed in your country as a designing policy, and an ambitious desire of conquest," was



further alluded to by the St. Petersburg "Gazette" of the 2nd March, in reply to a speech of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, alluding to a correspondence that had taken place in January, 1853, (he being at that time foreign minister,) when the Emperor attempted to prove to him "the approaching dissolution of the Ottoman empire," to which Lord John replied, "that the British government strenuously opposed any change in the situation of Turkey, as a source of danger and difficulty to the world, and that England strongly recommended the Emperor of Russia to abstain altogether, and scrupulously, from any interference in the affairs of Turkey, which must be productive of great peril to the world." What has been alluded to in the St. Petersburg "Gazette" led to the secret correspondence being laid before Parliament, in huge volumes of blue books, between the British and Russian governments, relative to the affairs of Turkey, from January to April, 1853.

The British cabinet being challenged by the "Journal of St. Petersburg" to produce them, there was no hesitation on the part of the government to lay the papers on the table of the House. This correspondence shows, that the Emperor began by intimating his conviction, that Turkey was on the eve of ruin, adding, that her fall would be a great misfortune, and it was very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding on these affairs, and *that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprised.* The Emperor disclaimed the policy of Catherine II., as directed to the overthrow of the Turkish empire. He asserted his right to the protection of the Christians of the Greek Church in the East, but said it gave rise to very inconvenient obligations, and he expressed his desire to come to an explanation with Sir H. Seymour, as a friend and a gentleman, lest the fall of Turkey should take Europe by surprise. He then declared, that if England

ever intended to establish herself at Constantinople, that he should not permit it; but that he was equally ready to engage not to take Constantinople, at least, as his own, but he did not deny that circumstances might occur to induce him to occupy Constantinople as a guarantee. The British cabinet replied, that they had no intention or wish to hold Constantinople, and that they would enter into no negotiation to provide for the contingency of the fall of Turkey without previous communication with the Emperor of Russia.

At this time Prince Menschikoff was on his way to Constantinople, and Sir Hamilton Seymour reported to his government, that he had reason to believe that 144,000 men were ordered to march to the frontier of the Danubian principalities. On the 21st February the Emperor reported to the British ambassador his conviction that the sick man was dying, and on the following day, explained himself more fully to Sir H. Seymour, "that he would not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians his subjects, or by the French, or by the English, or by any other great nation; that he would never permit the attempt of the reconstruction of the Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state, still less, the breaking up of Turkey into little republics,—rather than submit to these arrangements, I would go to war as long as I have a man or a musket to carry it on—if, however, the Europeans rejected all these expedients" (professing, at the same time, to believe that the dissolution of Turkey was inevitable), "nothing remained but the actual partition of her territories; he had no objection to see England take Egypt and Candia."

The correspondence of Sir H. Seymour gives at great length further conversations with his Imperial Majesty on the subject of the Turkish empire, from which the following are extracts: (they may be so

far deemed interesting, that such disclosures "being secret and confidential," seldom escape from their hiding-place, and more singular still, that *Russia* should have called for the publication of this correspondence.)

Sir H. Seymour's letter is dated January 22nd, 1853. "I found his Majesty alone, he received me with great kindness, saying, that I had desired to speak to him upon Eastern affairs, that on his side there was no indisposition to do so, but that he must begin at a remote period.

"You know" (his Majesty said) "the dreams and plans in which the Empress Catherine was in the habit of indulging: these were handed down to our time; but while I inherited immense territorial possessions, I did not inherit these visions—these intentions—if you like to call them. On the contrary, my country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would be unreasonable in me to desire more territory or more power than I possess; on the contrary, I am the first to tell you, that our great, perhaps our only danger is, that which would arise from the extension of an empire already too large.

"Close to us lies Turkey, and in our present condition, nothing better for our interests can be desired: the times have gone by when we had anything to fear from the fanatical spirit, or the military enterprise of the Turks, and yet the country is strong enough, or has hitherto been strong enough to insure its independence and to insure respectful treatment from other countries." . . . "Well in that empire there are several millions of Christians, whose interests I am called upon to watch over, while the right to do so is secured to me by treaty. I may truly say that I make a moderate and sparing use of my right, and I will freely confess, that it is one attended with obligations occasionally very inconvenient; but I cannot recede from the discharge of

a distinct duty. Our religion, as established in this country, came to us from the East, and there are feelings as well as obligations which must never be lost sight of.

“ Now Turkey, in the condition which I have described, has, by degrees, fallen into such a state of decrepitude, that, as I told you the other night, eager as we are all for the prolonged existence of the man (and that I am as desirous as you can be for the continuance of his life, I beg you to believe), he may suddenly die upon our hands; we cannot resuscitate what is dead: if the Turkish empire falls, it falls to rise no more; and I put it to you therefore, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency than to incur the chaos, confusion, and certainty of a European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly, and before some ulterior system has been sketched. This is the point to which I am desirous to call the attention of your government.”

In a subsequent interview of the ambassador with the Emperor, Sir H. Seymour communicated to his Majesty, that he had received an answer from his government to his conversation already related, which he was at liberty to transmit, when his Majesty said, “ So you have got your answer, and you are to bring it to me to-morrow. I think your government does not so well understand my object. I am not so eager about what shall be done when the sick man dies, as I am to determine with England *what shall not be done* when that event takes place.

“ I will tell you that if your government has been led to believe, that Turkey retains any elements of existence, your government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never permit such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding, and this we should do, I am convinced, if I could hold but ten minutes’ conver-

sation with your ministers—with Lord Aberdeen, for instance, who knows me so well, who has full confidence in me, as I have in him. Remember that I do not wish for a treaty or a protocol: a general understanding is all I require; that between gentlemen is sufficient; and in this case I am confident that the confidence would be as great on the part of the Queen's ministers as on mine. So no more at present; you will come to me to-morrow, and remember, that, as often as you think your conversing with me will produce a good understanding upon any point, you will send word that you wish to see me."—(*Blue Books.*)

On the following day the British ambassador had the honour of another interview with the Emperor, which he "describes as one of the most interesting in which he had ever been engaged," and that it lasted an hour and twelve minutes: it related principally to Lord John Russell's despatch to the ambassador, dated February 9th, in reply to the conversation between his Imperial Majesty and the Ambassador, which has been already related. In this despatch the British minister thus expressed himself, "No course of policy can be adopted, more wise, more beneficial to Europe, than that which his Imperial Majesty *has so long followed*, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory." Alluding to the probable dissolution of the Turkish Empire, the Emperor observed, "You have no elements of provincial or commercial government in Turkey: you would have Turks attacking Christians, Christians falling upon Turks, Christians of different sects quarrelling with each other, in short, chaos and anarchy." His Majesty next spoke of France, "God forbid (he said) that I should accuse any one wrongfully, but there are circumstances, both at Constantinople and Montenegro, which are extremely sus

picious; it looks very much as if the French government were endeavouring to embroil us in the East, hoping, in this way, better to arrive at their own objects, one of which no doubt is the possession of Tunis." . . . "As I before told you, all I want is a good understanding with England, and this not as to what *shall*, but as to what shall *not* be done. This point arrived at, the English government and I, I and the English government, having entire confidence in one another's views, I care nothing about the rest. It is perfectly true that the Empress Catherine indulged in all sorts of visions of ambition; but it is not less so, that these ideas are not at all shared by her descendants; You see how I am behaving towards the Sultan; this gentleman breaks his written word to me, and acts in a manner extremely displeasing to me, and I have contented myself with despatching an ambassador to Constantinople to demand reparation. Certainly I could send an army there if I chose—there is nothing to stop them—but I have contented myself with such a show of force as will prove that I have no intention of being trifled with.

"It is impossible not to feel great interest in a population warmly attached to their religion, who have so long kept their ground against the Turks; and it may be fair to tell you, that if any attempts should be made at exterminating these people by Omar Pasha, and should a general rising of the Christians take place in consequence, the Sultan will in all probability lose his throne; but in this case he falls to rise no more. I wish to support his authority; but if he loses it, it is gone for ever. The Turkish empire is a thing to be tolerated, not to be reconstructed. In such a case I protest to you I will not allow a pistol to be fired." . . . "The Principalities are in fact an independent State under my protection; this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government; so again with Bulgaria:

there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance of that province to England. I can then only say, that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia; that island might suit you, and and I don't know why it should not become an English possession."—(*Blue Books.*)

In dismissing the Ambassador his Imperial Majesty said, "Well, induce your government to write again upon these subjects, to write more fully, and to do so without hesitation. I have confidence in the English government. It is not an engagement nor a convention that I demand, but only a free exchange of ideas, and on the word of a *gentleman* that will suffice between us."

Of this confidential correspondence, the "Journal of St. Petersburg" 31st March (12th April) contained the following:—"The British ministry has just published all the confidential correspondence to which the 'Journal of St. Petersburg' alluded on the 18th February. In addition to these documents, it has deemed it *à propos* to introduce, not only the Cabinet papers exchanged between the Imperial Court and that of England, but even the secret reports which Sir H. Seymour made to his government with his Majesty the Emperor." (After reciting a portion of the correspondence). "The two Courts might have differed in opinion upon the greater or less inconvenience of the catastrophe which was foreseen; but in the event of that catastrophe, what were the views expressed by the Emperor? He disowned expressly for himself any desire or intention of possessing Constantinople. He made beforehand an engagement not to establish himself there in a permanent manner. This disavowal, this engagement, is confirmed by the Cabinet papers. Is it conceivable, after this, that in the face

of verbal and written declarations—declarations so formal and so obligatory, that the English ministers would have had the courage to accuse his Majesty, in their places in Parliament, of ambitious purposes, and of projects of conquest upon the capital of the Ottoman empire? Such a forgetfulness of the word of the Emperor, added to that of all propriety in language, which they have employed towards his august person, was surely intended in order to authorise the Imperial government to address a direct appeal to their conscience, referring to the assurances which so evidently attest the disinterestedness and the purity of the political views of his Majesty.

“These short observations will suffice to reduce to its just value all that falsehood and exaggeration which malevolence has attributed to the language of his Majesty. In the eyes of impartial men, the publication which has just been made will prove only one thing—the abuse of a generous confidence which has not been appreciated, and the injustice of suspicions which have been made the pretext of a disastrous war. Had it not been for them, there would have been no cause.”

In a memorandum dated St. Petersburg, February 21, 1853, it was expressly provided, “this discussion should remain what it ought to be, secret between the two Sovereigns.”

Lord Clarendon replied, on the 6th March, to this memorandum, that the British government perseveres in the belief, that Turkey still possesses the elements of existence, and that the hastening or indefinite postponement of an event which every Power in Europe is concerned in averting, will mainly depend on the policy of Russia herself towards the Porte; but that, in any case, England desires no territorial aggrandisement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement, from which she was to derive any such benefit; or to any understanding, however



general, which was to be kept secret from the other Powers."

This correspondence was terminated by a "memorandum," recognising that England and Russia were completely in accord as to the measures to be avoided in the event of that contingency happening in the East, which both States desired to prevent, or, at least, to postpone as long as possible; and the Emperor thus expressed himself to Sir Hamilton Seymour: "When we, England and Russia, are agreed, I am quite without anxiety as to the rest of Europe; it is immaterial what the others may think or do. You must understand, that when I speak of Russia, I speak of Austria likewise; what suits the one suits the other; our interests as regards Turkey are perfectly identical." Russia declared that she was ready to labour in conjunction with England, in the common task of prolonging the existence of the Turkish empire, by removing all cause of apprehension on the subject of its dissolution. He added, that there now existed a memorandum of his intentions, and what he had promised, his son was ready to perform. This memorandum bears date the 15th April, 1853, at which time Prince Menschikoff had addressed to the Porte the project of a *secret treaty* (a copy of which was actually transmitted to England by Lord Stratford on the 11th April), endeavouring "to reinstate Russian influence in Turkey on a conclusive basis, and in a commanding and stringent form."

To the great surprise of the Tzar, the British ministry had been able to publish the *secret correspondence* without damaging their moral reputation; but rather to have changed the opinion of Europe respecting English diplomacy, which, instead of being crafty and selfish, was found to be honest and credulous. The correspondence closed between the two governments of England and Russia on the probable dissolution of the Turkish empire, by a memorandum drawn up by Count Nesselrode, and delivered to her

Majesty's representative, rather long in its details, but concluding with the following: "The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding, may be expressed in the following manner: 1st. To seek to maintain the Ottoman empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible. 2nd. If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists; and, in conjunction with each other, to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of that empire shall not injuriously affect either the security of their own States, and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe. For the purpose thus stated, the policy of Russia and of Austria, as we have already said, is closely united by the principle of perfect identity. If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them, it is to be supposed that France will be obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna."

"Conflict between the great Powers being thus obviated, it is to be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such serious circumstances. It is to secure this object of common interest, if the case occur, that, as the Emperor agreed with her Britannic Majesty's Ministers during his residence in England, the previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish for themselves must be directed. The result was the eventual engagement that if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common."\*

\* See Memorandum by Count Nesselrode, delivered to Her Majesty's government, founded on communications received

On the 6th of March copies of the treaties between Russia and Turkey were laid on the tables of both Houses of Parliament. The first treaty was that of Kuchuk Kianardji, upon the right bank of the Danube, in July, 1744, which settles the boundary between the two kingdoms, leaving Bessarabia to Turkey. By Article 7, "the Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its Church, and it also allows the Imperial Court of Russia to make upon all occasions representations as well in favour of the new Church at Constantinople." By Article 14th, "permission was given to erect a public church of the Greek religion in the street called 'Beg Ogalou,' in the suburb of Galata." By Article 18, "Russian subjects were to have full liberty to visit Jerusalem, and no contribution or tax was to be exacted from these pilgrims and travellers." By Article 19, "Russia restored the islands of the Archipelago to the Sublime Porte, with this reservation, that the Christian religion should not be exposed to the least oppression any more than its church, and that no obstacle should be opposed to the erection or repair of them, and also that the officiating ministers should neither be oppressed nor insulted."

The treaty of Adrianople in 1828 confirmed the treaties that had been enacted at different periods. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia formed a special clause, the Porte having received them back by a former treaty; but by the subsequent treaty of Balta Liman, in 1849, Russia was recognized as a protecting power in relation to those Principalities. With respect to the Straits of the Dardanelles, it may be mentioned, that in the convention signed in London, in 1841 by the Ministers of Russia, Austria, Great Britain, France, and Prussia, after reciting "that the

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from the Emperor of Russia subsequently to His Imperial Majesty's visit to England in June, 1844.

five Powers had resolved to comply with the invitation of the Sultan, in order to record in common, by a formal act, their manifest determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, according to which the passage of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus is always to be closed to foreign ships of war as long as the Porte is at peace, the Sultan declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain that principle, and so long as the Porte is at peace he will admit no foreign ships of war into the Straits, and the five Powers agree to respect this his determination, and to conform themselves to this principle, it being understood that the Sultan reserved his accustomed rights to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flags of war which should be employed as usual in the missions of foreign Powers."

The war mania was now at its height, more so in England than in France. Large meetings were convened in the principal towns and cities of the kingdom to urge on Ministers to hostilities with the Tzar, and talented orators went through the land, decrying Government for their supineness, and even imputing treason to the Cabinet. The public press became clamorous; their columns were filled with diatribes from numerous correspondents full of "sound and fury," they even went so far as to level the most venomous slander against the first subject of the realm, that he had been unfaithful and treacherous in the Privy Council, of which the Prince was so distinguished a member. It might have been supposed that slander so gross would have carried with it its own refutation, but not so—it was thought necessary to take some notice of it by a Minister of the Crown in the House of Commons. The hue and cry of war nothing could check; the cautious prudence of the Prime Minister was denounced as treason to the State; it may be said, that the British Cabinet had no power to act upon their own judgment, and that they drifted with

the tide. It could scarcely have been supposed, that even if the enemy had been menacing our shores, greater enthusiasm could have been manifested to repel them, and all the warlike effervescence was to protect an ally some three thousand miles off, with whom, as we have shown, no *defensive treaty existed*; the forty years' peace was suddenly broken by a warlike eruption threatening to overwhelm Europe with its lava. The protocolling of cabinets gave way to army and navy estimates and other warlike preparations, for which Parliament liberally voted any sums that were requested; nay, the Finance Minister was reproached for his small demands, and was mocked for attempting to confine war expenses within the national income. The purpose of France to enter upon the war was equally determined, but not so noisy; the Emperor Napoleon prepared his contingents; they were ready, and embarked long before those of his ally. The two other powers, Austria and Prussia, who had joined in the treaty with France and England, confined their hostilities to Russia to cabinet demonstrations. To enter upon their diplomatic history would indeed be to weave a tangled web beyond the possibility of unravelling; suffice it, that with the former power, it led to something like armed demonstration, which we shall have yet to notice; and strange as it may appear, the two powers who had the most to fear from Russian encroachments (bordering on their territories), were not only the least sensitive to the danger, but had positively to be goaded on, as it were, by France and England to take care of themselves.

On Saturday, 11th March, the Baltic fleet departed on its warlike mission from Spithead, amidst the cheers of thousands of spectators, and in the presence of the Queen and Royal Family, attended by the best wishes of the whole nation. Sir Charles Napier was appointed Commander-in-Chief of this formidable naval force, consisting of 44 ships, manned

## 116 TREATY BETWEEN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND PORTE.

by 22,000 men, mounting about 2,200 guns, and propelled by a steam power of more than 15,000 horses. War had not yet been declared. England and France now, for the first time in history, confederates to maintain the peace of Europe, were likewise preparing as confederates for a great military struggle, and for the most important war that had occurred for many centuries, beyond comparison the most awful, with such means of human destruction as had never before been brought to bear on the struggles of nations. The French contingent of the fleet in the Black Sea was composed of a greater number of first-class ships than the British, whilst their contingent in the Baltic fell short of that of the British.

On the 12th March a treaty of alliance was concluded between England, France, and the Porte, consisting of five articles. By the 1st, "France and England engage to support Turkey, by force of arms, until the conclusion of a peace which shall secure the integrity and independence of the Sultan's rights and dominions. 2nd, the Porte engages not to conclude peace without the consent of its allies. The Allied Powers promise to evacuate after the termination of the war, and, at the request of the Porte, all those parts of the empire which they may find it necessary to occupy during the continuance of hostilities. This treaty remains open for the acceptance of the other great Powers of Europe, and, lastly, it secures to all the subjects of the Porte, without distinction of creed, complete equality before the law."

There were two separate conventions, one relating to a loan made to Turkey of 20,000,000 francs by England and France to the Porte, who not only undertook to pay the subsistence of the auxiliary troops, but all other expenses to be borne by their respective governments; the second related to the reform in favour of the Christians, which was of such a radical measure that the Sheik-ul-Islam resigned his office; he could not possibly sanction measures which went to undermine

the whole fabric of Islamism: nor was he the only opponent to it, the sitting of the Divan on the 12th April was very stormy, the old Turkish party being of opinion that they had better to have yielded to the Muscovites at once, who did not demand so much; but the representations of Redschiid Pacha, backed by stern necessity, induced them to agree to the treaty.

An Anglo-French ultimatum was forwarded to St. Petersburg. The British government waited the return of their messenger, who arrived from that capital on the 25th March. It may be remarked that the Emperor left the city the day before the Queen's messenger arrived. His Imperial Majesty is reported to have said in reply to the terms proposed by the Western Powers, "that they did not require five minutes' consideration." Furthermore, he announced to his own ministers that, "rather than submit to such conditions, he would sacrifice his last soldier and spend his last rouble." But the reply of Count Nesselrode was, that "no answer would be given by the Imperial court." A royal message was brought down to both Houses of Parliament on Monday, March 27th, in which her Majesty declared, "That she relies with confidence on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the Sultan against the encroachments of Russia;" and in the Supplement to the "London Gazette" of Tuesday, March 28th, war was declared against Russia. After a long recapitulation of the wrongs which Turkey had received at the hands of Russia, and referring to the long correspondence and fruitless efforts of negotiations to avert these hostilities, it proceeded to state, "it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the

Ottoman empire," and concluded with the following—  
 "In this conjuncture, her Majesty feels called upon, by regard for her ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people of right against wrong, by desiring to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a Power which has violated the faith of treaties and defies the opinion of the civilized world, to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, in defence of the Sultan." On the same day, war was declared by France against Russia. (It may not be deemed irrelative to remark, that the political relations between Great Britain and Russia have been scarcely ever disturbed since they were first established, now three centuries ago, with one slight exception, when the Emperor Paul declared war against England.)\*

Immediately that war had been declared by the British Government against Russia, several contingents of the army were embarked from Southampton for the East. They consisted of five divisions of infantry of six battalions each, and one of cavalry. The artillery mounted 56 field guns, and the whole force may be reckoned in round numbers at 30,000 men.† The Coldstream and Grenadier

\* See "Lives of the Sovereigns of Russia," vol. ii., p. 420.

† Original composition of the army :—

First Division, Duke of Cambridge, Lt.-Gen.

Major-General Bentinck.

Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots Fusilier Guards.

Major-General Sir Colin Campbell.

42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders

Second Division, Sir de Lacy Evans, Lt.-Gen.

Major-General Pennefather.

30th, 55th, and 95th.

Brigadier-General Adams.

41st, 47th, and 49th.



Guards left London by railway for that port, where they embarked amid the acclamations of assembled multitudes, who had flocked even from distant counties to bid them "God speed." The war had become very popular amongst all classes of Great Britain. Regiment followed regiment in quick succession. The cavalry, of which the horses were long delayed, went last. All this time the French were also in full activity. Great forces of cavalry and infantry, and field guns, were embarked from the seaports of the Mediterranean; at Marseilles and Toulon a large fleet was assembled for their transport.

After a short and prosperous voyage, the Allied forces landed first at Gallipoli, a little peninsula to the west of the Dardanelles. About 1,400 French and 7,000 English disembarked and encamped without loss or difficulty. It was noticed that the French troops effected this with more address and facility than the English, evincing their practical acquaintance with the operations of war far beyond that of their allies. Their camp soon resembled a colonial settlement. The little town of Gallipoli

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Third Division, Sir Richard England, Lt.-Gen.  
Brigadier-General Eyre.

1st, 28th, and 38th.

Brigadier-General Sir John Campbell.

44th, 56th, and 68th.

Fourth Division, Sir G. Cathcart, Lt.-Gen.

20th, 21st, Rifles, 63rd, 46th, and 57th—1st Brigade.

Fifth Division, Sir George Brown, Lt.-Gen.

Rifles, 2nd Battalion, 7th Fusiliers, 23rd, and 33rd.

Brigadier-General Buller.

19th, 77th, and 88th Connaught Rangers.

Cavalry under Lord Lucan.

Light Division, Brigadier-General Earl of Cardigan.

4th, 8th and 11th Hussars, 13th and 17th Lancers.

Heavy Dragoons, Brigadier-General Hon. J. Scarlett.

2nd Scots Greys, 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, 6th  
Enniskillens.

was completely Gallicised by French names of streets, hospitals, police-offices, &c. All this was accomplished within forty-eight hours of their landing, and a complete system of police was established. The greatest harmony prevailed between the men and officers of the Allied forces, who mingled together with the most enthusiastic fraternization in the great cause in which they were embarked. After remaining at Gallipoli for a short time only, the Allied forces moved further up in the country, whose sovereign they were ordered to protect against the Russian aggressors. The British troops, to the number of 10,000 men, landed on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus on the 4th April, and encamped at Scutari, whilst the French troops were pouring in to the number of 20,000 to take up their quarters on the opposite side. Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, arrived at Constantinople on the 29th April; the Duke of Cambridge and Marshal St. Arnaud arrived there on the 10th May. The principal encampment of the Allied British and French forces was subsequently established at Varna, a port on the Black Sea, where not less than 40,000 men were assembled around the place, which include likewise some Egyptians and Turks. Every street in the narrow town was choked with soldiery. No less than 500 arabas, or carts, were employed to carry provisions and stores towards Shumla and the Danube.

## CHAPTER III

THE suspension of hostilities between the Russians and the Turks occasioned by the winter season was now at an end, and, in the beginning of March, Prince Gortschakoff crossed the Danube in great force, under cover of twenty-four 12-pounders and six 18-pounders. The Russians began to build a pontoon bridge from a spot near Brailow, across the island, to Gedschid, on the right bank of the Danube. As the Turks offered no serious opposition, the bridge was completed by one o'clock, and at that time the Russian columns began their march, which continued without interruption until late at night, when the men lighted their watch-fires and bivouacked between Gedschid and Matschin. At the same time, General Luders constructed a second bridge between Galatz and the opposite bank, which is there free from morasses; and in the course of the day two regiments of chasseurs and two regiments of the line, with cavalry and artillery, crossed the river without loss. At the same time, a Russian detachment (the left wing of the corps), under the command of General Auschakoff, forced a passage above Fultscha, and, in spite of a vigorous resistance on the part of the Turks, got possession of the redoubts which had been constructed on the right bank of the river. 11 guns and 150 prisoners fell into the hands of the Russians.

It would appear that Omar Pasha was not in sufficient force to oppose the Russians: that he sent for reinforcements, but they did not come up in time to prevent the enemy occupying both banks of the Danube. The whole number that succeeded in crossing the river was estimated at 30,000 men, and they occupied the country between Matschin and Itaktcha.

On the 28th March, Hirsova was taken by the Russians, where they spent some time in preparing for a great attempt to pass Trajan's Wall; and, on the 25th April, General Luders crossed the Danube at Galatz, and nearly a month after a second column followed, near Tultscha, to his support. The Turks at the latter place, which is some five miles to the south of Trajan's Wall, once more checked the Russian advance, and, in a sharp conflict, repulsed the enemy, with considerable loss. The Turks succeeded during seven weeks in closing the avenues by which the enemy endeavoured to penetrate from the Dobrudscha, who were thus locked up in these marshy districts, the worst part of the whole Turkish territory, where they suffered infinitely more from ague, fever, and cholera, than they had suffered in the field.

Prince Paskewitch was summoned from Poland on the 8th April to superintend in person the progress of the campaign. He was accompanied, in addition to six adjutants of his own, by Prince Theodore Paskevitch, Count Orloff, and Prince Labanoff, with a considerable number of military and civil officers. The aged field-marshal, who had so distinguished himself in the Persian and Turkish campaigns, at once condemned the measures of Prince Gortschakoff; consequently there was an immediate change in the Russian dispositions, and those columns which had been countermarched from beyond the Aluta, were massed in apparently irresistible strength all around Bucharest and Slobodzae,

and in front of these towns, bearing fast upon the Danube between Oltenitza and Czernova. With General Luders' army, these concentrated troops maintained their communication through Hirsova, they were then to press forward, at whatever cost, to interpose between Varna and Silistria.

The "Dobrudscha," as the Turks call it, is the district enclosed between the Wall of Trajan on the south, the elbow of the river on the west and north, and the sea on the east. It is flat and marshy, cut up by lakes and pools, and the only passage is by extremely narrow and broken pathways, winding through a vast morass. Behind that, and still nearly parallel to the Danube, are the ridges of the Balkan, of which Varna and Shumla are the keys, and behind them lies the city of Adrianople, forming the apex of a triangle, the base of which is the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora, with Constantinople and Gallipoli respectively at its extreme angles. The most westerly on the Turkish side is Widdin, a place of considerable strength, and the point from which the first blow was struck by the Ottoman troops on the 27th November. The next place of strength on the Turkish side is Nicopoli, situate about 68 miles below Widdin, opposite to which is Turnoi. Opposite to the former are the works of Giurgevo, and over against the latter is the village of Oltenitza. Below Turtukai is the strong fortress of Silistria. Schumla is about 60 miles beyond it; whilst eastward are the strong places of Pravardi and Varna; the latter having a port or roadstead on the Black Sea.

Varna is built on a slightly-elevated bank of sand on the verge of the Black Sea, of such varying height that, in some places, the base of the walls around it is on a level with the water, and at others it stands 20 or 30 feet above it, with a semicircular bay, about a mile and a half in length and two miles across, on the northern side of which stands the

town. Below this bank are a series of plains inland, which spread all around the town until they are lost in the hills, which, dipping into the sea in an abrupt promontory on the north-east, rise in terraces to the height of 700 or 800 feet, at the distance of three miles from the town, and away to the westward, to meet the corresponding chain of hills to the southern extremity of the bay; thus enclosing the lakes and plains between in a sort of natural wall, which is, like the rest of the country, covered with brushwood and small trees. A stone wall, of ten feet high, and loopholed, is built all around the place; some detached batteries, well provided with heavy guns, but not of much pretension as works of defence, have been erected in advance of the walls on the land side. On the sea-face, four batteries are erected, provided with heavy guns likewise; two of them of earthwork, with fascines, &c.; the other two are built of stone, with parapets, embrasures, &c.: peering above these walls is an irregular jumble of red-tile roofs, the houses of the place, with a few minarets towering from the mosques above them. The angles of the works are irregular, but in most instances the walls are so constructed as to admit of a fair amount of flanking fire on an attacking force. The bank on which the town is built is so uneven, that a portion of the inner walls could be swept by a fleet in the bay; and other parts are equally accessible to the fire of the batteries on the small hillocks around the town. The earthworks are deep and well made; the guns carefully kept, and in good order. The houses of the town are built of wood, painted white, blue, brown, or saffron; for the most part exhibiting little of the original colour. The roofings of the broken red tile, combined with the general dilapidated look of the place, gives the whole the appearance of decay, which is not much belied by the appearance of the interior of the habitations. A high stone wall shuts out each

mansion, and the doors which, perforce, must open on the street, are shut the moment the occasion for their opening ceases. The windows rarely look upon the street, or, if they do, they are latticed and shuttered closely. They generally look out on court-yards provided with some tumble-down sheds, a well, and as many flowers and trees as can force their way through the hardened earthen floor of the enclosure. Thus, as you wander through hot lanes, presenting an eternal blank of stone walls and doorways topped by tile gables, and hear no sound within, perhaps the growl of the dog half awakened by your step as he barks in the middle of the narrow path, you might think the place stricken by plague, and destitute of life. Varna contains about 14,000 inhabitants. There are three small jetties of wood opposite the principal gate of the town, a few yards wide, between the sea and the foot of the wall, which serve as a landing-place for lighter boats.

The French fleet, under the command of Admiral Bruat, sailed from Toulon for the Baltic with a large army, on the 31st of March, the first contingent of the forces to be employed to aid the Sultan, which, by reference to Turkish history, shows a striking contrast of events from former periods:—"In the year 1543, the Sultan Selim II., at the request of the King of France, sent a large army and fleet to his assistance, under the command of the celebrated Turkish Admiral Barbarossa, who, according to the record, was the grandson of a French renegade. This army and fleet occupied the town and port of Toulon at the express wish of Francis I., from the end of September, 1543, to the end of March, 1544." And on this day, the last of March, 1854, a French army and fleet have sailed from the same port to succour the descendant of Sultan Selim in his distress, presenting to us a remarkable example of the rise and fall of empires!

Of the insurrection of the Greeks we have now to

notice that on the 9th March, the Porte addressed to the British and French ambassadors, as two of the protecting powers of Greece, a Note, complaining of the connivance of the Greek Court at the movements in the neighbourhood of Arta: they said that the fermentation had been kept up by publications and other incitements to revolt, proceeding from Athens. The Porte immediately sent the Greek minister his passports—all foreign Greeks were at once to leave Turkey, and on the 21st March Ali Pasha was sent on a special mission to the Court of Athens, where his demands were formally presented to the Greek government; which were ordered to be taken into immediate consideration by the Senate, the House of Representatives sitting with closed doors.

The Allied Powers being fully aware that it was essential to the existence of the Ottoman empire that great changes and ameliorations should take place towards the "Rayah" population, in order to lessen the mutual fears and jealousies which unhappily now exist among the several races and religions between the different subjects of the Porte; the powers engaged in the protection and preservation of the Ottoman empire considered, that those objects could only be attained by a considerable change in the government and its laws. The difficulties which attended the internal administration of the state could only be exceeded by the external dangers which had summoned the Allied Fleets and Armies to the rescue of the Sultan's dominions.

The changes introduced in the Ottoman empire by the influence of the Allied Powers amounted to a revolution in its social condition, forming a remarkable epoch in her history, viz., that "from the 27th March the possessions of the mosques are to be declared the property of the state." This is the most important and decisive step taken by the Turkish government since the destruction of the Jannissaries. The mosques and religious foundations of the Ottoman



empire form important spiritual corporations, exercising an independent legal and theocratical power in the state: the insecurity of property under an arbitrary government, and many other causes, induced Turkish landholders from generation to generation to assign over the fee-simple of their estates to the mosques, reserving only the usufruct to themselves and their direct male descendants. Land thus held by the mosques became "vacoufs," and was held for ever in mortmain: such lands have hitherto been exempt from taxation and personal confiscation; their tenure has so increased and extended by the mere influence of security and devotion in an empire where all other property is fluctuating and insecure, that full three-quarters of the soil of Turkish dominion are said to be held in this manner. By the system of "vacoufs" the church has gradually drawn to herself all that is valuable in the territorial property of the country; the wealth of mediæval Rome in Western Europe did not approach the proportions to which the resources of the Ottoman mosques have attained in our own days, yet the last has become great by the same means and through the influence of the same social conditions.

On the conquest of a new territory a part has been always appropriated by the Turks for the service of religion; but these lands form but a very small part of the ecclesiastical possessions, which have accumulated for centuries, chiefly in the following manner:—As the possessor of land, whether Osmanli or Rayah, was exposed to the plunder and oppression of his superiors, whilst the property of the church was inviolable, he was willing and encouraged by the class, who were both ecclesiastics and lawyers, to conclude a fictitious sale by which the land was nominally transferred to the mosque, while the original possessor received the benefit—on these conditions, however, that if he died without children, the land should altogether become the property of the mosque, who then, in return for

her protection, purchased the reversion on certain conditions of vast tracts of land. By the extinction of families most of these lands are now become ecclesiastical property, and this accumulation of wealth, in the hands of the most bigoted and intolerant priesthood, has ever formed the chief obstacle to improvements, and was one of those deep-seated evils which neither Mahmoud nor Abdul Medjid until now has dared to touch. To dispossess these powerful corporations of landed property which they have held for centuries, by the twofold bond of legal usage and religious property, to resume the direct authority of the Sultan over so large a portion of the lands of the empire, one-third of which was allotted to the mosques by Mahomet the conqueror of Constantinople, and to defy the whole power which the Ulemas and other religious orders may be able to set forth, is one of the boldest measures that has ever been taken in a great emergency. The Ulemas, or masters of the law and of the Koran, are the sole possessors of the vast wealth belonging to the religious foundations; and at the same time, as the expounders of the faith and fundamental laws of Islamism, they enjoy an authority to which the highest powers in the state have been obliged to bow. Sooner or later every Christian state has undergone this great change, and the vast possessions which the superstition or the rapacity of former ages placed in the hands of the church have been restored to the common uses of society. The social revolution which has been effected in Turkey by the emancipation of the Christian establishment, on a principle of equality between all races and religions of the empire, led by an inevitable consequence to the abolition of the exclusive supremacy which all the Mussulmans have hitherto exercised over the largest portion of the soil except in the Archipelago, and in the provinces from which they are excluded by treaty; and although changes of that nature are never accomplished without the

dangers and sufferings inseparable from revolution, the future strength and independence of Turkey depend on the introduction of a system totally distinct from that which has reduced so magnificent an empire to the verge of dissolution. By those great changes the Allies have gained more for the Christians of the East by defending their rights, than the Emperor of Russia claimed by attacking them.

The theocratic government of Turkey places inordinate power in the hands of the chief of the church, the Sheik-ul-Islam: although Islam has fallen on evil days, yet its champion is still nearly the most powerful personage in the State—he is Chief of the Ulemas, that body who, to the detriment of all progress, unite the functions of judge and priest. His power over this fanatical body, dispersed through every district of the empire, renders him a dangerous opponent of reform: not only is his influence to be dreaded, as the head of a rich, bigoted, and united corporation, but his immediate and legal prerogatives are not small—his consent is necessary to give force to any decree, and though his legislative sanction has of late been seldom withheld, yet the power of the *veto* still remains with him, and may be brought into action at any time (as in the present instance) at an important crisis. The difficulty has been with a man of a narrow mind, like the late Sheik-ul-Islam, filling the office of the chief place in the hierarchy, rather than one eminent for vigour and influence over his class. He is stated to have said, that when the Sultan exceeded the limits of the power granted him by God and the prophet, the people were released from their obedience, and that he for one protested against the blasphemous step of placing the testimony of a “Ghiaour” in the balance with the word of a true believer.

The Sultan Mahmoud would have probably answered his contumacy with the axe or the bow-string: his successor, more lenient, only deposed him

from his high post, deeming this a sufficient punishment for his opposition to the will of the Sultan and his advisers; but it is well known that the excited state of public feeling at this event, at Constantinople, was giving great uneasiness to the government.

We have spoken of some of the tribes of the eastern and southern parts of Asia, being excited by the war-  
cry against the infidels to leave their country for the capital, in order to enroll themselves in the ranks of the true believers; these unite to a fierce Mussulman spirit, a strong feeling of independence; so much so, as sometimes to contemn the authority of the Sultan, except when Islamism is in great danger. One of these tribes, capable of furnishing 4,000 horsemen, is under the guidance of a woman, whose name is "Fatima:" their home is in the mountains of Cilicia. 300 of them arrived at Scutari, where their appearance gave rise to the greatest excitement, their queen or prophetess (for she was endowed with supernatural abilities) was a little old woman of about sixty years of age, with anything but the Amazon in her appearance, she bestrode her steed, and wore male attire, like the warriors of her train. She was attended by thousands, like herself, in masculine costume, and was brought across the Bosphorus with a select band of followers to a species of barrack at Stamboul. Their arms are curious, and seem to indicate a mode of warfare in which each man keeps the spoils he has won: some carry the pistols and atagan of the Albanians, some the cimitar, others a wooden club or mace, which he swings round his head, gesticulating violently, as if to make up for the poverty of his armament by a display of ferocity: the long matchlock of the Affghan was not wanting, and some individuals of the tribe retain the bow and arrow of their remote forefathers. Fatima demanded for her 300 warriors 80 piastres a-month each, with tooth and stirrup money in every village they may traverse,

and on these terms they were enrolled in the Sultan's service.

It may not be irrelevant briefly to notice the impression of recent travellers as to the soil and capabilities of Turkey, since they are much connected with the social revolution which she will probably undergo. "Here, within a moderate distance from England, is a land blessed with all the means that can afford wealth and happiness. Here the emigrant does not find the blazing sun and sandy plains of Australia, nor is he exposed for months to the insufferable cold of a Canadian winter; he comes to a portion of the earth, the geography and productions of which are known: he establishes himself in the neighbourhood of civilized nations, on the banks of the great sea, which is the historical centre of the earth, on the highway between East and West; by his exertions, another generation may see the commerce of the whole world, from Cadiz to Canton, by the route of the Euphrates and the Persian gulf, and he advances the interests of the mother-country by linking more closely to her those Indian dependencies with which her greatness is bound up. Vast tracts of country in the neighbourhood of noble harbours, and watered by navigable streams, only want the hands of the cultivators to yield an abundant harvest. The corn of Russia, the wool of Australia, and the wines of France, might be rivalled by the productions of Anatolia and Syria, and the deserted cities of antiquity once more raise their heads in the centre of a new race and more desirable civilization. The only obstacle to the regeneration of these glorious regions, is the domination of an effete religion and an incapable race: the authority of the Mahommedan ecclesiastics extends over three-fourths of the land which forms the fairest portion of the Turkish empire."

## CHAPTER IV.

THE declaration of war against Russia by the Allied Powers reached Constantinople on the 6th April, where it excited the greatest interest; yet the jealousy of the old Turks against the "Ghiaours" showed itself in different ways; "the Franks are here" (said they) "to set the 'Rayahs' over our heads; they will dethrone the Padishah, and divide the empire." Many of them added that their subjection to Russia would be no loss to the Ottoman State; that if the empty and unproductive sovereignty of this region is to be bought by the overthrow of all that the Mussulman holds dear—the domination of his race, the sanctity of his faith, and the supremacy of the Sultan—it would be better to leave them to their fate, and acquiesce in the loss of a part, in order to retain the rest in its old integrity. The protection of the Greeks, asked for by Prince Menschikoff, would be nothing to the absolute equality of the Rayah, which they fear the Allies are determined to demand." Something of this kind was the feeling among the great body of the Turks; but the declaration of war somewhat disarmed this apprehension. The great spell of Russia among the Greek population was still the same; they looked to her hitherto invariable success, her skill in escaping from the greatest dangers, and they augured a similar

conclusion to the present struggle: thus come what may, Russia will in some way or other gain her end. This opinion was not confined to the lower classes, or even to the *Christian community*, for among the Turks were many who looked on their old enemy as the predestined accomplisher of an inevitable destiny, which forbodes that the Osmanlis are again to quit that Europe, in which, according to their own expression, they are only *encamped*, and that the Caliphate must revert to Damascus or Bagdad. The Moslem has his ancient prophecy on the subject, as well as the Muscovite, and the fortunes of both point in the same direction.

The Greek insurrection against the Ottoman Porte was said to have been organized by the Baron Oelamer, a Russian Commissary. The plan was to raise a host of some 50,000 conspirators in different parts of Turkey, who, at a given blow, were to put their Turkish neighbours to the sword, the blow was to have been principally dealt at Constantinople, where the conspiracy was organized. Oelamer, who received a thousand piastres a month for acting as a Russian spy, was weak enough to unbosom himself to a Greek physician, named Oska, who at once betrayed him to the Turkish authorities. Nevertheless the insurrection of the Greek "Rayahs" against the Ottoman government now became so alarming, that they determined on extreme coercive measures for its suppression, and on the 1st of April the Greek foreigners received orders to quit the Turkish territory in fifteen days, reckoning from the 30th March. The number of Hellenic subjects was variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000. The loss to the higher classes was not so great as to that of the lower, who had only humble means. The Greek firms are very numerous in Turkey, and almost all had partners who are under French or Austrian protection, but the greater part of the lower orders had not the means even of paying their passage to the Piræus. The Pasha of Smyrna promulgated

## 134 CONVENTION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

a similar order, which did not extend to more than 6,000. The "Rayah" Greeks that remained were ten times more numerous than the Hellenes who were expelled, and as active as ever in their machinations against the Porte, which induced the latter to carry out the measures against the Hellenic population with the greatest severity. Every steamer that left for Syra was covered with human beings so thickly wedged together that to walk the decks was impossible. At least 400 are said to have taken their departure in one vessel, most of them reduced to the lowest depths of poverty, who were thrown ashore friendless and destitute at the Piræus. Three-fourths of the men would probably go to swell the ranks of the Thessalian insurgents, or take to their old trade of piracy in the *Ægean*. Many of the shops in Pera were shut up by the expulsion of their owners. More than thirty medical men, the most skilful of their class, were obliged to leave—housekeepers, dragomen, domestic servants, both male and female, were comprised in the sweeping edict. Of the 13,000 who resided in Constantinople alone, but a small number possessed the means of transporting themselves to Athens and seeking other occupation. The Catholic Greeks enjoyed French protection, which privilege was turned by the Latins into an engine of proselytism, hence the Russo-Greeks were placed in a worse position than their brethren who acknowledged the papal supremacy. They were obliged to sell off their things to obtain passage-money for their families, and were often disgorged by the steamers on the shores of Greece as destitute as if thrown on the beach of a desert island.

A new convention was formed between the respective governments of England and France, signed in London on the 18th April: the object of the two Courts being the re-establishment of peace between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan on a firm basis, and the preservation of Europe from the dan-



gers which have disturbed the general peace, they distinctly disclaimed all exclusive advantages to themselves from the events which may arise, and they incited the rest of Europe to co-operate with them in an alliance dictated only to protect the public interests of Europe.

The St. Petersburg Journal of the 31st March (12th April) contained the counter declaration of war published by the Courts of England and France, in which the Emperor observed particularly, "judged by the apparent grievances in which it originated, it could have no cause of existence." Of this manifesto, which was very long, and drawn up with more than the usual ability of the Russian Cabinet, the following are extracts:—"France and England have at last undisguisedly departed from the system of concealed hostility which they had previously adopted against Russia, particularly by ordering their fleets to the Black Sea.—The cessation of the mutual relations between them and the Imperial Cabinet became a matter of course.—The two Cabinets invited the Imperial Government to evacuate the Danubian Principalities within a given time, which England fixed at the 30th of April and France, more peremptorily, on the 15th of that month. They fixed a term of six weeks for the adhesion of the Imperial Cabinet, at the expiration of which a refusal, or the absence of any reply whatever, was to be by them regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war. To a summons so partial in its tenor, so practically inexcusable, as it was insulting in its terms, silence was the only reply compatible with the dignity of the Emperor. In the presence of such declaration, it only remains for the Emperor to accept the position assigned to him, reserving to himself to employ all the means which Providence has placed in his hands to defend with energy and constancy the honour, the independence, and the security of his empire—[speaking of the negotiations based on the celebrated Vienna Note].

“Finally all honourable retreat was peremptorily cut off by an imperious summons which Russia never before received within the whole period of her history, even at a time when a conqueror at the head of armed Europe invaded her territory. We have never attacked the honour of the two Courts: if that honour has been endangered it has been done by themselves; from the very outset they adopted a system of intimidation, which failed as a matter of course. They made it a point of honour to oblige Russia to bend to them, and because Russia would not consent to her own humiliation, they say they are hurt in their moral dignity.—With respect to Turkey, although we have been at war with her, the peace of Adrianople exists to show the moderate use we have made of our success, and since then, at two intervals, the Ottoman empire has been saved by us from imminent danger.

“The desire of possessing Constantinople, if that empire should fall, and the intention of forming a permanent establishment there, have been too publicly, too solemnly disowned, for any doubts to be entertained on that subject, which do not originate in a distrust that nothing can cure.

“It is to defend the influence not less necessary to the Russian nation than it is essential to the order and security of other states—it is to sustain the dignity and territorial independence which are the basis of it, that the Emperor, obliged, in spite of himself, to embark in this contest, is about to employ all the means of resistance that are furnished by the devotion and the patriotism of his people: he trusts that God who has so often protected Russia in her day of trial, will assist him once more in this formidable struggle. He sincerely laments the formidable evils which are about to fall on humanity; but, at the same time, he feels it his duty to protest solemnly against the arbitrary pretensions put forth so prominently by the two Powers, which throw upon him alone

all the responsibility of them. They are free, without doubt, to adopt against Russia such measures as they may deem expedient, but they are not able to lay the consequences to his charge. The responsibility of war belongs to that Power that declares it, not to the one that limits itself to its acceptance. St. Petersburg, March 30th, 1854."

A further article appeared in the "St. Petersburg Gazette," of the same date, relating to the publication of the "private correspondence," by the British Parliament, concluding with "these short observations will be sufficient to reduce to its proper value all the falsehood and impropriety which malevolence has discovered in the language of his Majesty; in the eyes of impartial men the publication which has taken place—all prove only one thing, the abuse of a generous confidence which has not been appreciated, and the injustice of suspicions which have been made the pretext of a disastrous war, for which but for them there would not have been any cause."

The blockade of the Russian ports in the Black Sea by the allied fleets, had not prevented their transporting troops from some forts which they had decided upon abandoning, of which we have the following account in the "St. Petersburg Gazette." "On the breaking out of the war, the Russian ports on the eastern coast of the Black Sea became completely isolated between Ghelendjik and Guzri, and orders were given to destroy these forts, and to remove the garrisons; for this purpose a squadron of twelve vessels, of different descriptions, started on the expedition, which, considering the vicinity of the English and French fleets, may be considered as somewhat adventurous. Never was expedition more successful: 5,000 troops, the stock of provisions belonging to the government, the artificers, and the families of all employed men, were removed without loss or difficulty to a place of safety, in defiance of the imaginary dangers of the Black Sea, and the near presence of

### 138 THE ATTACK ON ODESSA BY THE ALLIED FLEETS.

the allied fleet:" (thus concluding) "our military resources have been increased by an effective force of picked troops, trained to war by long service in an unconquered country."

Of the military operations on the Danube, we have further to report that the Russians crossed that river on the 13th April, at New Orsova, and occupied Wartsurova, which was deemed of so great importance at St. Petersburg, that a solemn "Te Deum" was sung at the Chapel of the Winter Palace, when the whole of the Imperial Family were present, to which the Foreign Ministers were invited.

The allied fleets on the Black Sea now began to commence operations against the enemy by an attack on the port and town of Odessa, originating in the following circumstance:—On the 6th April, the 'Furious' steam-frigate went to Odessa to take on board the consuls, and such of the English as might desire to leave that town upon the approach of hostilities with Russia; a few moments after she left the quay, and whilst her boat still hoisted the flag of truce, she was fired upon from the batteries. This breach of the custom of wars of all civilized nations so irritated the French and English admirals, that they determined on revenging it by bombarding the town. At four P.M. on the 21st April, the French and English admirals sent in a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the Russian, French, and English ships lying in the quarantine harbour, to which no answer was sent at half-past six. The following morning twelve steam-vessels of the combined squadron commenced the bombardment of the military port; in a few hours they had destroyed the fortifications and the magazines of the Russians. The attack of the allied fleets was merely directed against the forts, batteries, and military stores; the destruction of those works proved the operation to have been eminently successful, since it produced the explosion of the magazine of powder in which the naval and

military stores were deposited. Twelve vessels of war were sunk in the port, and thirteen Russian transports, with their stores on board, were captured; whilst the merchant ships, and neutral and private property were respected. The loss of the allies amounted only to five killed and twelve wounded. The town was defended by four batteries, which were constructed at the beginning of this year, and were placed as follows: the first of twelve guns on the mole of the quarantine port, defending the entrance of the great roadstead; the second of six guns below the boulevard, and to the right of the flight of steps which comes down to the sea and divides the boulevard in two—this battery divides the entrance of the quarantine port; the third to the left of the steps, placed in such a manner as to cross the fire with that of the second battery, and to command the roadstead; the fourth on the quay of the "Port de Pratique," below the palace of Prince Woronzoff. Each of these two last-named batteries had eight guns. In addition to these four batteries, there were three others, one on the other side of the Gulf of Odessa, at the village of Dohinafta, nearly opposite the quarantine port; the other to the south of the port, near the country house of the Countess of Langeron; the third in the same direction, near the Cape of the Great Fountain, where a lighthouse below is placed.

Odessa was founded by Catherine II. The population, exclusive of the military, is estimated at 70,000; the import trade is valued at four and a half millions sterling. The town is situated on cliffs which rise to a considerable height above the sea, and form a sort of amphitheatre around the bay; it is fortified according to the modern principles of defence, and the citadel, on the west side of the town, commands the port, which is formed by two large moles, one of which is regularly defended by a parapet with embrasures for cannon. The anchorage in the bay is good, and the water so deep, that ves-

## 140 RUSSIAN REPORT OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF ODESSA.

sels of the first class may lie within reach of the shore.

The "Invalide Russe" of the 8th May, gave the following report of the bombardment of Odessa by the allied fleets, in a decree addressed to General Osten Sacken: "On the day when the inhabitants of Odessa, united in their orthodox temples, were celebrating the death of the Son of God, crucified for the redemption of mankind, the Allies of the enemy of his holy name attempted a crime against that city of peace and commerce—against that city where all Europe, in her years of dearth, have always found open granaries. The fleets of France and England bombarded for twelve hours our batteries and the habitations of our peaceful citizens, as well as the merchant shipping in the harbour. But our brave troops, led by you in person, and penetrated by a profound faith in the supreme protector of justice, gloriously repelled the attack of the enemy against the soil which, in apostolic times, received the precursor of the Christian religion in our holy country. The heroic firmness and devotion of our troops, inspired by your example, have been crowned with complete success; the city has been saved from destruction, and the enemy's fleets have disappeared. As a worthy recompense of so grand an action, We grant you the order of St. Andrew. NICHOLAS."

The Russian government then decreed, "the military stores, batteries, and all the other works of defence destroyed by a division of the combined squadron, shall be reconstructed at the expense of the city of Odessa." (It is added, that the Tzar, in taking that decision, had merely acceded to the patriotic demands of the inhabitants).

On the 20th April, the Guards left St. Petersburg for the Baltic. Batteries were being constructed at the mouth of the Neva, which seemed to show some alarm to be existing in the capital. The gold was removed from the fortress to Moscow—the cash in

the banks was soon to follow. The Emperor was unceasingly active, going frequently to and from Cronstadt. Another Manifesto was addressed to the people, on occasion of the declaration of war, in which the Emperor persisted in casting on the two Allied Powers the initiative of the differences which are now disturbing the peace of Europe; accusing them of dissimulation and violence, repeating that he pursued a sacred object in contending for the Christian faith, and that his policy was free from all worldly interest; he added, that Providence was with him. "Governments and nations have already passed their judgment on the designs which thus cover themselves with the cloak of justice, and we have full confidence in that which it now belongs to God to protect."

The difficulties of the operations of the Baltic fleets had been such that, up to this period (April 30), nothing had been done by them worth recording; nevertheless, the vigilant activity of the British Admiral and his fleet never relaxed in their arduous duties. The coasts of Finland on the two gulfs are almost all bordered with a belt of islands, (without speaking of the sands), and a number of rocks of sharp granite, some above and some below the water. Amidst this labyrinth are narrow, winding, and not very deep passages. Some of them, which are the widest and deepest, lead vessels into ports and harbours. In order to attack, as well as to protect the coast, it is necessary to have a numerous armament of row-boats, especially constructed for fighting and navigating in these waters. The smallest sailing-vessels cannot everywhere pass. The Swedes and the Russians who have inhabited these islands make use of small flat-bottomed boats, armed with two 36-pounders, one in the bow, the other in the stern, which are loaded at the breech with great promptitude. These boats are manned by a complement of 30 men, 20 rowers, and 10

gunners, each man armed with a carbine; and the belligerent party who has not a flotilla, can do nothing except in the open sea, and in the navigable channels. But in the midst of them, large vessels may be attacked by gun-boats coming unawares through a number of other channels, where they cannot be pursued. These armed boats are real maritime guerillas, and serve as the advanced guard of a fleet. By means of them, a war of surprise and ambuscade is carried on. They approach an enemy's squadron to observe its movements, and to give notice of them. They suddenly attack large vessels by boarding, when the enemy is not prepared; they keep up a rigorous blockade of a port, and are used for the landing of troops and artillery on the coasts bordered by reefs. Russia is said to have had 800 vessels of war, formed into squadrons stationed at the different ports, and the Emperor held out great advantages to discharged sailors, who will again enter the service of the flotilla row-boats until the winter, when the ice puts an end to all naval operations. The Russian people have no taste for naval service; but the Emperor has at his command the sailors of the German provinces, and the Finnish sailors.

Cronstadt, to which port the allied fleets were to be directed, is extremely difficult to approach within the means of bombardment. It is situated on the Island of Kedlin, in the Gulf of Finland, about six miles in length and one mile in breadth, about 20 miles below St. Petersburg. It may be said to be the port of the Imperial City. From the sea-side it is protected by the fortress of Cronstadt, which commands the narrow channels through which large vessels have to approach the capital. At the back of the island, towards the coast of Finland, there was also a channel through which vessels of the size of a sloop could formerly pass; but this was blocked up about fifty years ago by means of poles and huge blocks of stone, and

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latterly farther blocks of stone have been sunk, which renders the passage completely impassable. An attack on Cronstadt, therefore, is only possible from the narrow channel which, in its various turnings and windings, is commanded, for the distance of four English miles, by the fort. In front of the island, all signs, such as buoys, posts, &c., having been carefully removed, even if the vessels have the most experienced pilots on board, they will be obliged to move very slowly; and consequently a vessel advancing to the attack would be exposed for a whole hour to the fire of the Russian batteries. If a single ship of the line was sunk in the channel, it would be so effectually closed, that the others could not advance. Great efforts were made by the Russian government to close this channel by Professor Jacob's invention for destroying vessels at sea, which consisted of chests charged with powder and other combustible materials being sunk in the sea, connected, by means of wires, with a galvanised battery. Four of the forts of Cronstadt are formed of enormous granite cubes, the fifth is of logs. The greatest danger for Cronstadt is, that these forts may be taken one after another, as each of them would be exposed to the united fire of a great number of ships. The greatest security of the place is the narrowness of the channel, which, just at the entrance to the port, behind Port Menschikoff, is commanded by two enormous floating batteries, formed of old ships of the line. General Denn, of the Engineers, was appointed Governor of Cronstadt, and Admiral Beard, an old energetic officer, commanded the fleet. Now for some notice of operations in the Turkish waters.

The Turkish and Egyptian fleet, consisting of nine line of battle-ships, three frigates, and seven steamers, sailed from the Bosphorus on the 7th May, under the command of Achmet Pasha; their destination was the Circassian coast, to take out guns and men to

assist the gallant inhabitants of that country. The Russians had at the time abandoned part of the forts constructed with so much expense and labour; these forts were studded along the whole coast, at distances seldom exceeding 10 or 15 miles, and they formed a chain or cordon of positions, which kept the country under effectual restraint, and could only be relieved by sea as long as the Russians enjoyed the undisputed possession of the Euxine. The Russians had resolved to abandon those lesser forts by removing the stores and garrisons to Sebastopol, and concentrating the greater part of their forces in the three important positions of Anapa, Ghelendjik, and Saidjak-Kaleh (which we have already related); it was against these places that the Turkish squadron was directed. The position of Anapa is of extreme importance, both in a military and a commercial point of view; the fortress occupies the northern extremity of the Caucassian mountains, on the shores of the Euxine, only 46 miles from Kertch, at the entrance of the sea of Azoph; the fortifications consist of a long sea wall, a citadel on a perpendidular calcareous rock, and some bastions on the right side.

In 1828, Anapa, being then in possession of the Turks and belonging to the Pashalic of Trebizond, resisted for more than a month the combined attacks of the Russian forces by sea and land; the squadron was composed of 8 ships of the line, 4 frigates, and 20 corvettes, under Admiral Greig, having on board 2,500 men, commanded by Prince Menschikoff. The Turkish garrison consisted of 7,000 men, supported by the mountaineers outside the place; but after a siege of 32 days, Anapa was occupied by the Russian troops, and it remained annexed to the empire. Ghelendjik and Saidjak-Kaleh, both possess the advantage of a more secure anchorage than is to be found at Anapa, the former is, besides, a considerable military fort. The hos-

ilities against the Russians on the eastern coast of the Black Sea were likewise pursued by the English fleet, who sent a squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, 'Charlemagne,' 'Agamemnon,' and the frigates 'Mogador,' 'Highflyer,' and 'Samson,' to bombard Redoute Kaleh, which they did successfully, sparing only the Quarantine establishment and the Custom-house, which contained a great quantity of merchandise intended for Teflis; the squadron then returned to Chourouckan, taking with them about 800 men, whom they landed at Redoute Kaleh, and pursued the Russians, in number, about 2,000, who retired before the Turks, whose force was increased by about 300 French and English; the Russians fell back on Katais, which also fell into the hands of the Turks. The Circassians soon made themselves masters of all the forts and fortified places which border the coast of their country. Souchem Kaleh, abandoned by the Russians, was occupied by the Mingrelians. Schamyl, their chief, took possession of Usunghet, a very important fortress. The Russians who defended it were defeated with great loss. Schamyl, with a large army, was marching against Teflis, he being then only twenty-four hours' distant from the capital of the Russian provinces in Georgia.

From the Russian journals we first heard of the loss of the 'Tiger' English frigate; the "Journal d'Odessa" thus announced it: "On the 12th May the 'Tiger,' of 1,274 tons burthen, and mounting 16 guns, was stranded at seven versts from Odessa, and forced to surrender before the 'Vesuvius' and 'Niger' could come to her assistance. The Captain, Giffard, lost a leg, a midshipman and four men were wounded, and 226 were taken prisoners. As the vessel could not be removed she was set fire to and sunk the same day, some of her guns were taken as trophies to Odessa." Of further particulars of this disaster we learn that the 'Tiger' got on a sand-

bank in a fog when in pursuit of a Russian schooner which ran into the Quarantine port; the Russians fired into her red-hot balls until she was completely helpless. The two steamers which came to her assistance were obliged to keep at a distance, as the Russians had some guns of the very largest calibre, with which they fired with extreme precision. Every effort was made to get her off by throwing her guns overboard, and discharging her ammunition into boats. When the fog cleared off she found herself about five miles from Odessa, under the telegraph; and a large body of 9,000 men with 15 guns were already assembled. They commenced a fire, which soon carried off Captain Giffard's leg; and another shot killed his nephew, a midshipman, by his side. The captain seeing his hopeless position, struck his flag, and the enemy took all the crew prisoners. Just before leaving the ship, the 'Niger' and 'Vesuvius' hove in sight, when the Russians demanded that their prisoners should be quick in getting on shore, threatening to fire on them if they delayed longer. The two steamers, seeing the enemy assembled in numbers, began to throw shells among them, when the Russians placed the British in front, and the steamers discontinued their fire. The prisoners were then marched to Odessa. The Russians refused to exchange them, but allowed every liberty to the captives, who were permitted to write to their friends, and they were visited under a flag of truce by the first-lieutenant of the 'Vesuvius.' The surgeon of the 'Tiger' added in his report, that every possible attention which humanity could suggest had been shown by the authorities of Odessa, and that the survivors were under his special care. Captain Giffard died a few days after. Every respect was paid by the Russians to the interment of his remains.

Mrs. Giffard, on hearing of her husband being made prisoner, immediately departed for Odessa; but previous to her arrival there, she heard of his death. She

visited that city for twenty-four hours only, under a flag-of-truce, with Commander Powell of the 'Vesuvius.' The crew of the 'Tiger,' on seeing a British naval uniform pass their place of confinement, were about hailing the wearer with a British cheer, thinking their moment of release from captivity had arrived, but were very judiciously silenced in time by a sign from Captain Powell. The junior officers, such as midshipmen and cadets, were placed in a naval college, to improve them in their profession. The exchange of 180 officers and sailors of the crew of the 'Tiger' was to take place at Odessa three months after; but, unfortunately, the number of Russians to be exchanged fell short of that of the English by 20, and accordingly so many of the crew of the 'Tiger' remained in captivity. They reported, that nothing could exceed the courteous treatment both officers and men had received from the Russians since their being at Odessa.

We will now glance at what was going on between the belligerents on the banks of the Danube. Omar Pacha advanced with 70,000 men towards the Dobrudscha on the 18th and 19th of April, and a battle took place with Luders' corps, between Silistria and Rassova. During the night, the Turkish General despatched a division in the direction of the Black Sea, when the battle was at its height. The next day this corps attacked the Russians in their rear, causing them great consternation and confusion. General Luders retreated towards Czarnova, sustaining great loss of guns, ammunition, and even their military chest. The Turks fought most desperately, and the loss on both sides was great.

The principal warfare between the Turks and Russians was subsequently concentrated before Silistria. So early as the 14th April great batteries had been erected by their engineers on the north bank of the Danube, opposite Silistria, the town was bombarded from morning till night, and on the 28th

they were completely established on the south bank, from whence they attacked the outworks of Silistria. The assault was so hotly returned by the Turks that full three weeks elapsed before General Schilders had completed the investment. On the opposite shore he piled up batteries of heavy guns, which maintained a continued bombardment. The forces which he transported over the Danube were not less than 53,000 men, whilst the Turkish garrison mustered 8,000 only. Against the south-west the fire was severe and terrible. On this side the ground rises in a series of platforms, which could not be surrendered to the enemy with safety to the town, for on the day when they were taken Silistria was virtually taken likewise. These outworks, respectively called "Araba Tabia" and "Illani," are of earth. The Turkish artillery protecting them was repeatedly silenced, the walls behind them were as often breached; but, burrowing in the cavities of that redoubt, the indomitable defenders waited only till the thunder of the guns had ceased, and till the tramp of the storming columns made the ground about them tremble, when they appeared swarming out of the bowels of the earth, dagger in hand, rather than sword in hand, and flung themselves upon the assailants. The Russians made a furious attack on the 11th May, when the fortress was invested with a force of from 60,000 to 70,000 men. They took possession of a small island on the Danube, from whence they sought to establish a bridge towards the town, but finding the resistance from the Turks to be so formidable, they abandoned the design for a time. A few days afterwards they returned to the work, and succeeded in establishing a bridge, by which they were enabled to throw on the right bank of the river from 25,000 to 30,000 men. Their efforts were principally directed against Fort Tabia, which they continued bombarding for nineteen days. The siege of the fortress was undertaken by Prince Paskevitch in person. The

town is situated on low ground, surrounded by a continuous wall crowned with forts; the principal one, called the "Medjidée," was only recently constructed according to all the modern improvements of fortification; it was the largest, and against which the principal efforts of the besiegers were directed. The attack and the defence were carried on with equal vigour; repeated storming parties were directed against the intrenchments. Mines and counter-mines overthrew the works and convulsed the soil, frequently including in one common destruction both the besieging army and the besieged. The spirits of the latter began to droop; these brave defenders were worn to skeletons. No help seemed at hand; the faithful and valiant garrison of Silistria appeared doomed to destruction and to abandonment, and, singular to relate, the Turkish troops in Bulgaria remained quiescent during the whole time of this danger. Had they made any movement to the relief of Silistria the siege would probably have been raised.

During this time a great Anglo-French force was assembled at Varna, not more than 70 miles from the walls of Silistria. Omar Pasha was then at Shumla with 70,000 men, at a still shorter march than that of the Allies; still nothing was done to relieve the fortress, when two British officers, amateur warriors, and very young men, on their way from India, arrived at Silistria, and volunteered their services to the besieged—Butler and Nasmyth. They told the Turks that they must not despond because the besiegers were laying powder under the surrounding works—that against those mines other mines could be wrought, and that all the enemy's labour would be then lost; that before they could approach near enough to damage the works they would themselves be blown into the air. This encouraged the Turks to take heart in the defence once more, to which they now applied themselves most vigorously,

assisted by the two young amateurs of powder and shot, who had scarcely before known what Napoleon used to term "*le bapteme du feu*." These "braves" were joined by a Prussian engineer of some eminence.

Mussa Pacha, Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces in Silistria, formerly a pupil of the Artillery School of Metz, made a sortie which completely succeeded, and in which the Russians had a great number of men killed and wounded. The assault was attempted three times by the Russians, and they were always repulsed with loss, it was reported, of from 8,000 to 10,000 men.

On the night of the 29th of May three storming parties, of 10,000 men each, were formed, with a battalion of engineer sappers, with fascines and scaling-ladders at their head; two of the corps proceeded towards the forts of "*Araba Tabia*" and "*Il-lani*;" the third corps was to act as a reserve. After a terrific cannonade the storming-parties advanced, but were received by the Turks with such a well-directed fire that for some time they made but little progress; the Russians, however, fought bravely, and having managed to scale the breastwork of one of the batteries, a regular hand-to-hand fight took place. At last the Turks were victorious, and the unfortunate besiegers were knocked into the ditch with the butt-ends of the Turkish muskets. The Russians then lost courage, and they returned to the attack only as they were forced so to do by their officers. When there was literally no more fight in them, a retreat was sounded, and the Russians carried off as many of their dead and wounded as they could. The Turks, after the enemy had retired, picked up 1,500 bodies, a great number of guns, swords, drums, musical instruments, and the colours of a battalion. A curious story is told of an interview between the two commanders, Russian and Turk, held under flags of truce, demanded by the Russians. Prince Paskevitch



said he wished to spare the needless effusion of blood, by merely informing Mussa Pasha of a fact, that the Tzar had sent positive directions that *Silistria must be taken at any cost*, therefore it might as well be given up at once; to which Mussa Pasha, stroking his beard, replied that he also had a fact to communicate, viz., that "Abdul Medjid Khan had honoured him with positive instructions to defend the place; nor would he surrender it if he had but a thousand men, and all Russia was at its gates, with the Tzar in person." Thereupon a sort of masonic sign is said to have been made by the hand of the Russian commander, which implied an enormous sum in gold imperials. Mussa's only answer was, "Let us now separate: the interview under white flags is over."

The Turks now met with a great misfortune in the loss of their gallant commander, who was unhappily killed by a shot, which exploded in his house on the 21st June. The brave Osmanli was on his knees at midnight at prayer, and while in the act of bowing his head, a cannon-ball struck him between the shoulders. Of his history we learn that when some years ago the Prussian captain of artillery, with six non-commissioned officers arrived at Constantinople to teach the Turks the science of gunnery, Mussa was a simple cannoneer, but he closed his career as chief of the general staff of artillery, and president of the ordnance department in the council of war.

Omar Pasha, on the 4th June, put 30,000 men in action, and ordered them to advance to the relief of Silistria, which they entered the next day, partly breaking through the Russian lines. They were commanded by Mahomet Pasha. Some of the succouring force were repelled and shut out, but they remained watching for the next sally which took place on the 8th June, and then by night stealing over numerous Russian corpses, about a thousand more of the Turkish reinforcement entered Silistria. On the 13th June, five days afterwards, a still more

tremendous sortie was effected. Three Russian mines were sprung during the conflict; all their works were destroyed, and the carnage was enormous. A grand assault was subsequently ordered. The Russian soldiers, after being eleven months in Turkey, had known nothing but a series of disasters, without one little episode of success, and when ordered to the breach, they stood doggedly in the ranks. Prince Gortschakoff in alarm postponed the attack till the next day. The Russians were thoroughly discouraged and demoralised, being repulsed twice from the defences. They hesitated to obey, when Count Orloff, General Schilders, Prince Gortschakoff, and General Luders placed themselves at the head of the men to induce them to follow; Prince Paskevitsch rode up to the spot and addressed them, partly with reproaches and partly with encouragements. The assault was unsuccessfully renewed, and a murderous carnage took place, when General Schilders, who, twenty-five years before, had established his reputation by taking this fortress, was struck by a cannon-ball which carried off his thighs. General Luders had his jaw struck away, Count Orloff was dangerously wounded, Prince Gortschakoff was severely wounded, and Prince Paskevitsch only slightly wounded. The Turks had not only repelled the assault, but had pursued the assailants up to their very batteries. Some of the relieving columns outside had, in the mean while, alarmed and disordered the Russians in the rear.

The Russian generals showed the greatest gallantry in leading on their men to the attack; they were all dangerously wounded or incapacitated for duty, when the command of the Russian army devolved upon General Dannenberg, and Ghatli Mahomet Pasha succeeded to the command of the Turkish troops in the fortress after the death of Mussa Pasha already related.

One more effort was made by the besiegers, when the Turkish commander finding the parapets and

outworks of Fort Tabia to be completely dismantled, determined to abandon it; but the Turks resolved to yield their stronghold in a way that should not be forgotten. Nothing could exceed the fury with which they, though inferior in numbers, attacked the Russian batteries; they rushed like maniacs on the besiegers, armed with hatchets, and literally hewed down the gunners at the pieces, and spiked the guns. The Russians were dismayed at the fierceness of the attack, and scarcely made any resistance; they fled in all directions, and the Turks returned triumphant to the town, having previously bid adieu to Araba Tabia which they reckoned on never seeing again.

On the following morning they were surprised at the complete disappearance of the Russians, who raised the siege on the 23rd June.—Enormous hardships and risks were encountered by the Osmanli, who displayed the spirit of a true soldier, of which we have characteristic instances. Smoking his pipe, he would be at the bottom of a trench watching his better-supplied comrade, working with his spade above the level of the margin, when a cannon-ball sweeps away the tarboosh and the head within it, to which he merely observed, "Allah is great!" and quietly took the spade from the yet warm hand and filled the brief vacancy, his own tarboosh now surmounting the clay embankment. Soon the place was again vacant, and a successor, equally intrepid and equally serene, continued the excavation, and in ten minutes, perhaps, three Osmanlis were thus doomed to drink the sherbet of eternity.

The obstinate and murderous perseverance of the besiegers, which lasted until the 23rd June, at length almost exhausted even the patient courage of the Osmanlis. The odds were so great, the work was so incessant, every day seemed to increase the power of the enemy. During the operations of the siege the brave Captain Butler died from exhaustion and excessive fatigue, to the great lamentation of the

Turks, by whom he was honourably interred. He was only twenty-eight years of age. The brave Ensign Nasmyth returned to England to receive the reward of his Sovereign by promotion in that army of which he was so distinguished a member. The loss of the Russians at and under Silistria was estimated at 30,000 men. The retreating army recrossed the river so much demoralised, that had they been properly pursued they must have laid down their arms or been annihilated. They retreated from every point towards Fokshani and Birlat, evacuating not only Lesser but Greater Wallachia. Skander Bey, with a few Turkish troops, pursued them beyond the Aluta. It was only in the Upper Dobrudscha that the Tzar now held any portion of the further bank of the Danube.

Up to this period (June) the Allied Anglo-French army had not entered upon any operations beyond that of forming an entrenched camp at Gallipoli, about seven miles long and one and a half broad, running along the crest of a natural ridge, from the Gulf of Saros to the Sea of Marmora, consisting of a trench seven feet deep; the bottom six feet wide, the top thirteen feet broad. It does not appear that they had any other object than that of employing the men. The Commanders-in-Chief, Marshal St. Arnaud and Lord Raglan, accompanied by the Seraskier, or Minister of War of the Porte, proceeded in separate steam-boats, from Constantinople to Varna, to hold a council of war, and to determine on the operations of the campaign. Here they held a meeting with Omar Pasha, the result of which was said to have been highly satisfactory to all parties. Adrianople, it was then stated, was destined to be the head-quarters of the allied armies; but this was subsequently changed for the neighbourhood of Varna, where camps were established, and 50,000 of the allied troops were assembled by the end of June. The cholera attacked both the armies and the fleets; for two months they

lay prostrate under this dreadful scourge. In July the mortality was the greatest; up to which period it was computed that it had cost the English at least 1,500 men, and the French nearly 4,000, including other casualties.

The operations of the British fleet in the Baltic were, up to this period, unimportant. The Admiral despatched a squadron to the Gulf of Bothnia; thus carrying the British arms into latitudes which they never reached before for the purpose of naval operations. The 'Leopard,' 'Odin,' and 'Vulture,' steam frigates succeeded in destroying by fire a vast amount of property at Brahestadt and Uleaborg. The English seamen and marines landed in boats, and set fire to the marine stores, which, from their combustible nature, burnt with great fury. The more important naval station of the enemy was covered with granite batteries, which rendered their position inaccessible to the large ships of the British fleet, which succeeded in destroying a considerable amount of property in the enemy's northern ports, and spreading terror along the coast of Finland. On the 7th of June a similar attempt was made on Gamla Karlaby, with more unfortunate results; a town situated in a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia, with a population of 1,800 souls. The British seamen commenced their operations at night; nine of the boats approached the town, and attempted to effect a landing; they were received, however, by troops and artillery on shore, and the expedition was repelled with loss. The combat lasted until midnight, and ended in the withdrawal of the boats. The boat of the 'Odin' was cut off by ambuscade; of its crew, some were killed, others were taken prisoners. The total loss of the British amounted to 54 men. The object of the fleet seems to have been a general blockade of the Baltic, which was established on the 28th of May on the whole coast of Russia and across the Gulf of Bothnia.

Reverting once more to affairs in Russia:—Another ukase was issued by the Emperor, calling out fresh recruits for the reserve levies, nine in the thousand souls in the eastern provinces, to set them even with the western provinces, and then three in the thousand more, making in all twelve. Of the Jews, ten in the thousand were required: the levy was to commence on the 27th of July, and to be concluded in a month: thus 220,000 men were to be torn from their homes against their wills. The value of this man-tax levied on the landed proprietors was estimated to amount to 22,000,000 silver roubles annually, or 3,650,000*l.*, taking the produce of a soul (*Duscha*) at the highest valuation put upon them. In addition to the value of human property thus confiscated to the use of the Crown, each proprietor had to pay down in cash 10 silver roubles 20 copeks per recruit for the clothing, &c., which, for 220,000 men, amounts to 366,650*l.* The Russian government likewise ordered an extraordinary contribution, amounting to one-fourth of the income, to be levied on the central provinces. The proceeds to be exclusively employed on the expenses of the war which was waged in defence of the orthodox faith against the Western Powers, who were denounced as the enemies of Christianity. Furthermore, notice was given that the property of those who shall not have, within fifteen days, paid the first moiety of the impost, should be put under sequestration, and be administered by the Crown.

The Emperor and Grand-dukes were indefatigable in their attention to public business, and continually on journeys of inspection. The bad news from the seat of war arrived in the capital, the end of June, of several Generals having been wounded, and of Prince Paskevitsch receiving a contusion, which obliged him to resign the command to Prince Gortschakoff, and to repair to Yassy. This news created a deep impression upon the Emperor, and upon those around him. His

Majesty, at the time he received it, was on the spot where the troops were exercised, and was about to visit some fortifications which had just been executed; he however returned to the Palace, and immediately summoned the minister of war, with the elder branches of the Imperial family; after a long conference, they withdrew, and Count Nesselrode was called.

The Emperor wrote an autograph letter to Prince Paskevitch, to express to him his concern, and to inquire for his health. The feeling of dejection which prevailed at St. Petersburg was increased by rumours of new misunderstandings between brothers of high rank, whose quarrel, until now, had been checked by the powerful influence of their revered father. People even spoke of a most important document, which one of the princes had deposited in the archives of the Senate.—Private accounts from St. Petersburg mentioned the great change which had taken place in the Emperor, morally and physically, and described him to be completely broken down in health and spirits; that he had ordered the Minister of War to proceed to head-quarters, to give him a personal report of the Russian armies: this had produced a great sensation, the Minister being never charged with such a mission, except on the most urgent occasions. The Russian losses to this time were estimated at 50,000 men: not only was Little Wallachia evacuated, and the Danube recrossed, but the works at Giurgevo were abandoned, and the Russian forces were retreating from Bucharest: having failed in their attack on Silistria, they could not hold a position south of the Danube; and from the moment Prince Paskevitch assumed the command of the army, he contemplated the necessity of concentrating the whole line of operations from the south to the west.

The French division of the Baltic fleet, commanded by Admiral Bruat, passed through the channel as early as the 23rd of April, to join Admiral Napier,

and arrived in the Baltic on the 23rd of June, consisting of 25 sail, nine being of the line. The united fleets of England and France, consisting of 28 sail of the line, frigates and steamers, amounted in all to 65 vessels of war lying at anchor: these afforded a spectacle not only of unprecedented grandeur, but such as was never before known in the history of the two nations, the flags intimately flying together of the two greatest maritime powers of the world, now cordially united in one common cause, that of repelling the aggression of the great Colossus of the North.

Some of the Russian possessions in the Baltic have been already described; but there remains to be noticed Helsingfors, the ancient capital of Finland, situated on the northern coast of the Gulf, about 180 miles from St. Petersburg: it is defended by the fortifications of Sweaborg, built upon a number of small islands, and mounting 800 guns. On the opposite southern side, is Revel, about 200 miles from St. Petersburg, strongly fortified, and very difficult of entrance. At the top of the gulf, and 20 miles due west of the capital, is Cronstadt, the chief of all the Russian arsenals, and the outwork of the Imperial city (already described); to which may be added that every rock and islet bristles with cannon, and the place itself was strengthened by the most elaborate works, whilst the narrowness of the channel, which is but 36 feet wide, seems to render it almost unapproachable.

The navigation of the northern waters is not generally practicable till the middle or end of May. The first exploit of the Baltic fleet was performed at Hango on the 30th of May, when two Russian ships were cut out from under the guns of the fortress. On the 30th, Brahestadt was bombarded, and the next day Uleaborg was destroyed. Prizes of not much importance continued to be sent home: the Admirals pressed their respective governments to send them a military



force, which was responded to by the Emperor Napoleon with great energy, and 10,000 troops, under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, was sent out, whose proceedings we shall notice in due course.

We will now again revert to the affairs of Turkey and Greece. The complaints alleged by the Ottoman government against that of Greece for complicity in the Greek insurrection have been already alluded to, when the Allied Powers interfered, and proved a very strong case for such interference: after having exhausted every form of remonstrance,—the Greek government had belied every assurance that the Russian envoy at Athens, acting in conjunction with the Court, had organised a movement which may be more fully described as a “Russian measure” than as a Greek insurrection. On the 22nd May the Greek government was bound to give an answer to the communication of the British and French governments. King Otho immediately summoned a Council in the afternoon of that day, which continued sitting in consultation all night, when he at length submitted to their demands, but under a protest that he had been compelled *to do so by force*. This not being deemed satisfactory by the Allied governments, they proceeded to occupy the Piræus with a military force; and on the 25th May a French division of 7,000 men, accompanied by one British regiment, reached the Piræus, and at once landed, having taken possession of the Greek gun-boats in the harbour; the Greek government struggled to the last moment, to gain an extension of time conceded to it by the representatives of the two powers. King Otho had been informed on the 11th May that coercive measures would at once be taken if he did not comply with the terms required of him, and declare his strict neutrality in the present contest, besides taking effectual measures to recall those of his own subjects who were aiding and abetting the

insurrection in Thessaly and Epirus: he was even told that, "if as the result of the employment of those measures the throne of Greece should crumble away, *and the dynasty give way to another form of government*, the responsibility of such results would rest with those whose mistaken views and unjustifiable conduct will have converted into enmity the friendship which England and France would wish to maintain with Greece." Yet such were the intrigues of the minister, and the violence of the Queen, that it was not until the troops had actually landed on the soil of Greece that King Otho changed his tone. It has been proved by documents well authenticated, that the head of the insurrection was in direct communication with the Greek government, and that he recommended that "two battalions of the frontier guards should desert forthwith and join the insurrection, being also paid regularly that they may remain firm and unshaken." An attempt was made by the Greek ministry, acting under the immediate direction of the agents of Russia, to levy the whole military force of the country, and to march it against the Turkish provinces.

The greatest dismay prevailed amongst the partisans of Russia at seeing the Piræus occupied by the Allied troops; the Queen, in particular, was excited to a pitch of frenzy that made her husband fear her mind was disordered; she is said to have repeatedly declared, that if the occupation took place she would that moment mount on horseback, place herself at the head of the Greek army, lead them across the frontiers, and arouse the population to arms. Her Majesty's baggage had been ordered to be prepared, and everything portended a speedy departure; at length she yielded to the prayers and entreaties, and it is said even to the tears, of the King, who conjured her not to take so reckless a step, and in his supplication he was powerfully aided by the ladies in waiting, and the servants of the palace, where the

excitement was very great. The indignation of the Russian party was beyond description, while the real friends of the country were gratified at the presence of the Allied troops, who would enable them to get rid of adventurers and conspirators. On the 26th May the King accepted all the propositions, and issued a proclamation declaring his complete neutrality on the Eastern question.

These elements of disturbance amongst the Greeks, subjects of the Ottoman Porte, owe their source principally to the oppressive government to which they are subjected. It should be observed that the good intentions and the beneficent decrees of the Padishah for the amelioration of their government do not reach the distant provinces, where all power is concentrated in the provincial governor, who often defies the Imperial rescript; his tenure of office is so precarious, that he will strip the poor people almost of their last para in order to fill his coffers, and they have no redress. Of the state of feeling amongst these Greek "Rayahs," we learn from Mr. Saunders, the British consul at Previsa, who says:—"The Greek population, not anticipating any substantial relief from the evils under which they have been accustomed to labour, and, indeed, expecting to become the victims of more serious oppression in proportion to the success of the Turkish arms, are animated by an irresistible impulse to seize the present opportunity of asserting their pretensions, which every individual, be his condition what it may, has been accustomed to regard as founded upon inalienable right. At the same time, as they are fully conscious of the pernicious results to be anticipated from Russian occupation, as annihilating all hope for the future, the speedy introduction of substantial reforms in the administrative system might go far to avert the perils of protracted delay." He further adds:—"The intolerable acts of oppression resorted to by the local authorities in Epirus, for the purpose of enforcing the immediate payment,

by a starving population, of taxes not yet due, and this with reference to Christians exclusively; the disgraceful manner in which its duties were perverted to the spoliation of the districts confined to its jurisdiction, served to encourage revolt, and to neutralize all attempts to restore tranquillity on the frontier districts."

It will serve to elucidate the character of this insurrection if we refer once more to Mr. Saunders, who has had considerable experience among the Greek population. He relates that, he went to Filentes with the Turkish commissioner, in the hope of inducing the Christians to place greater confidence in the assurances made to them, and to prevail on the Mussulmans to desist from those acts of outrage and persecution; and then adds, "Three Christian villages had been entirely laid waste by the Turks, and many unoffending victims had been sacrificed, *whose heads were displayed as trophies* appended to a tree in the market-place. At this place, a mother had her son and daughter bound before her eyes, and menaced with frightful tortures; boiling oil being prepared to pour upon them for this purpose, unless a large sum of money which she was supposed to possess was given up to these ruffians, who eventually decamped with a large booty." Again, "The town of Paramythia, and a considerable number of Christian villages of that and the adjacent districts, have been plundered, and in many instances, burned to the ground, by the Mussulman Albanians, under the command of certain chiefs whose names were known. Churches and monasteries have been pillaged and laid waste, women and children carried away captive, a vast amount of cattle and other property conveyed away to distant parts, and many inhabitants, particularly old men, helpless infants, and females, tortured and slain, in a manner too brutal to describe." Many other instances could be added of the barbarous oppression of the Turkish rulers over the "Rayah"

subjects of the Porte, but we fear they may equally fatigue as disgust the reader.

It should be borne in mind that, during this time of European excitement and of hostilities between the Russians and Turks, the different Cabinets had not been inactive in concerting measures for allaying the storm. An Austro-Turkish convention was concluded at Constantinople on the 4th June, of which the following are the leading articles:—"The Emperor of Austria, having fully recognized that the existence of the Ottoman empire is necessary to the maintenance of the balance of power of Europe, and that the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities is one of the conditions of its integrity, declares himself ready, with the means at his disposal, in the measures proposed to obtain this object by the agreement entered into by the Cabinets of the great Powers represented at the conference of Vienna.—The Emperor engages, then, to exhaust all means by negotiation and otherwise to obtain this evacuation, and to employ, in case of need, the forces necessary to secure this object.—The Austrian commander-in-chief will, in due time, inform the Ottoman Government of his operations.—The Emperor, in concert with the Sultan, will reestablish in the Principalities the state of affairs in conformity with the privileges granted by the Porte.—His Majesty also engages not to enter into any engagement with the court of Russia which shall not proceed on the assumption of the sovereign rights of the Sultan and the integrity of his empire.—On the conclusion of peace, Austria shall evacuate the Principalities with the least possible delay. The Turkish authorities shall afford the Austrian troops every facility for their march, quarters, encampment, subsistence, &c. The ratification of this treaty shall be exchanged at Vienna within a month at the farthest, reckoning from the date of the treaty." This treaty did not bind Austria to carry the war over the frontier, but it relieved the Turks

and their allies from defending this important line. With an Austrian army holding the Principalities against Russia, England and France were left at liberty to carry out the object for which they had taken up arms.

The Turks now began to weary of the war, and, with that apathy which so characterizes them, the members of the government could, with difficulty, be brought to give attention to public business; the first excitement had passed away, and letters from Constantinople of the 10th June spoke of the inertia which pervaded the Divan, that no Cabinet Council had been held for the space of twenty days, because Redschiid Pasha was unable to attend it, he being the Sultan *de facto*. The Sultan, *nominally*, was so reduced by his cares and difficulties as to be incompetent to his public duties. Each business of the most ordinary kind, after numerous delays and complications of office people, ended in an "irade," or *supreme sanction*, which has no fixed term; it may be for days or for months. The apathy of the people, whether arising from indifference, was quite surprising. The better class of Turks were unanimous in believing that the object of the Allies was to destroy the government, and no one seemed to have the energy to avert the misfortunes which must fall upon the country sooner or later. Every talented man and every honest man was kept at a distance; likewise all those capable of pointing out the true state of affairs to the Allied Generals: there was a general expectation of change among the Turks; and though they may detest the idea, they may accept it as their fate. Nations are very much what they were made, and there is little real difference between man and man.\* One thing is clear—that the Turks will do nothing for themselves, and will resist with obstinacy the interference of the Allies. Amalgamation with the Christians is an empty dream.\* A mutual hatred

\* See Fowler's "History of the Ottoman Empire," p. 432.

divides them, stronger than on the first day of conquest. The approaching equality only increases its bitterness.

As to the Christian population, they are unfit as a body for what we call liberal institutions; the uneducated have but two political ideas—that they must defend their religion, and that the Russians will help them to defend it; the priests are devoted to the Russians, and the people obey the priests with a blindness unsurpassed in any part of the world. A sensible and rational code of laws which suit all alike is necessary to the creation of something like national unity, and as law in Turkey is only a chaos of jarring jurisdictions, such a code must be given by some civilised and friendly power; to admit all equally to the executive which would overthrow the monstrous system of corruption by which princes are plundered and pashas grow rich, and would open a road to the Christians for something higher than mere commercial success.

It is a fact and patent to all the world, that the Christians in Turkey are rapidly increasing in numbers and prosperity, and that the Mohamedan population, except in Bosnia, are as rapidly dying out: the result is inevitable; the stronger and more wealthy race must in the end succeed to the weaker power; it is only a question of time and means. Russia has watched with alarm the increasing prosperity and intelligence of the Christian population, the spread among them of liberal opinions, whether in matters of religion or politics; and she is now making a final effort to put an end to a state of things so fatal to her views, and to bring the greater part of the Christian subjects under her immediate control. The Greeks from the same causes, and justly proud of their own intelligence, activity, and wealth, aim at being the successors of the Turks; the cross is to replace the crescent on the dome of St. Sophia, and

a Greek empire is again to rise in the East : how far the Greeks form the materials for composing an empire sufficiently civilised and powerful to take its place among the great nations of Europe, is one of the most difficult problems of modern days.

The Tzar is now engaged in terrible conflict with the Allied Powers to substitute his own authority for the falling fabric, and how far he may succeed in his ambitious projects the termination of the war even may not determine. On looking back at Turkish history, we find that the followers of the Prophet, on their conquest of this country, allowed, both to the Christians and to the Jews, their legal institutions : their religion and the authority of their own laws were respected by the Osmanlis. The Code of Justinian was administered by the Greek Patriarch ; and the Hebrews, who fled from Spanish persecution, were allowed to remain subject to the Pentateuch and the Talmud ; what was then *allowed* has become a *right*, and this right has grown strong with the weakness of Turkish power. The precedent has been followed in all dealings with foreign nations, and every Power has been ambitious to rival its neighbour in the extent and exclusiveness of its privileges with the Porte.

Of her modern history we find that the traveller passes through villages where the population have almost entirely died out, whilst the manufacturers of Brousa, Adrianople, and Damascus are fast becoming things of the past. The rich plains of Roumelia and Anatolia will fail to produce more than will sustain a scanty population, when the peasant feels that he is not working for himself, and that however much he may labour, he will continue poor, while his endeavours will only end in making rich men richer, and those who oppress him still more able to do so. Even within a few miles of Constantinople, rich lands lie uncultivated, capable of pro-



ducing wheat sufficient to supply the capital. The neglect of the government has caused even the roads which formerly existed to fall into decay : these roads, or rather bridle-paths, consisted of a sort of pavement of large stones, which are generally to be found in the vicinity of villages ; and none but the accustomed caravan horses could possibly traverse them. That inertia which pervades the Turks in everything, has principally contributed to their national decay, which it may be said, has been going on for the last four centuries, and (what is very unlikely to happen) unless they become fused with some other races, Ottoman dominion must pass away.

We have spoken before of the decree of the Ottoman Government for expelling the Hellenic population from Turkey, in consequence of the ill-advised conduct of King Otho and his ministers ; but the measure has been severely censured, as it deserves to be, and that one class of religionists should be excepted from the order was considered impolitic. Subsequently the " Rayah " Greeks, who were not comprised in an alleged conspiracy against the Porte, were allowed to remain at Constantinople. Such have been the natural and inevitable results of this absurd, impolitic, and unjust expulsion of these Hellenes from the Ottoman territory, the most industrious portion of the population of the Levant were driven out, trade was interrupted, the navigation of the Archipelago stopped, and piracy reappeared. The national and religious passions of the Greeks are strongly excited against the Porte and also against the Christian Powers which have allowed this proscription to be carried into effect. To save themselves from destruction, the Greeks implored the protection of the foreign Powers, which many of them have contrived under one pretence or another, to obtain. The Ionian Greeks came under British protection, and the French Ambassador thought fit to

assert a similar claim on behalf of the Greek members of the Western Church. This produced a considerable difference between the French Ambassador, General Baraguay d'Hilliers and the Porte, and for a time diplomatic relations ceased between them. It seemed quite absurd for the French to claim protection over any part of the Sultan's subjects, when such a pretension had been already declared inconsistent with the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan. This was no other than the demand of Prince Menschikoff himself. The Hellenic population was so interwoven with all the relations of trade, society, and domestic life in the Levant, that it was almost impossible to drive them out without causing very wide-spread misery; and their animosity to Mussulman authority would only increase by observing that the Latin converts were protected in preference to any other class.

Among the subjects of King Otho who were expelled were 1,200 Catholics, who, as they were proscribed in Greece, did not wish to return there. General Baraguay d'Hilliers sent in a note demanding residence for seventeen Catholic families. This demand was granted verbally by Redschid Pacha; but, after consulting with the English ambassador, he changed his mind, and sent in a polite note to say that the request *could not be granted*. The General then, in a rage, wrote a sharp note to Redschid Pasha, in which he is said to have stated, that if in twenty-four hours his request was not granted he should take his passports on the following morning at 8 o'clock, and the entire "personnel" of the French embassy should receive orders to leave Constantinople. The General had actually packed his trunks and sold his horses; but on the representation of the British ambassador the affair was arranged, but the General was soon recalled from his embassy. Here is another instance of the weakness of the

Porte—another Menschikoff affair, and an example of the system which has done so much to unsettle Turkey, to embroil the nations connected with her, and to make few Powers sincere in their wish for her tranquillity. As long as certain countries are accustomed to consider that on their influence with the Porte depends their greatness in the eyes of Europe, so long will there be obstacles to the re-establishment of a rule which shall be able to resist improper interference; each Power has something which it hopes to extort from the weakness of a decaying despotism. Thus Russia and her designs are the subject of protocols and the cause of war; and the arms of Western Europe are defied by a Power confident in her barbarous strength, but the indignation of the world is disregarded by a people secretly proud of their reputation for clever diplomacy. On the other hand, Catholicism is the lever which France is ever ready to seize, anxious to bring Greeks and Eutychians within their pale; the whole becomes a question of national influence, even Austria has her claims as well founded as those of her neighbours—viz., a share with France in protecting the Latin church, and certain rights of interference in Montenegro Servia.

We have already noticed the English expedition to the eastern coast of the Black Sea against the Russian ports. Schamyl, the chief of the Circassians, addressed a spirited proclamation to the inhabitants of the villages in the mountains, inviting the warriors to take up arms in order to co-operate against the common enemy with the forces of England and France. The following is an extract:—"The men of the West are coming to us frankly as friends. We must receive them well; they are anxious to assist us in exterminating the enemy, who for so many years, notwithstanding his repeated defeats, has been endeavouring to drive us from the mountains and forests in which our fathers lived, where our

wives and children shelter their innocence, where we pray to Allah, the omnipotent and all-merciful. Let us greet these warriors, who come, like us warriors of the great and the lesser Kabardagh, to wage war on the cruel Muscovites, those miscreants and contemners of Allah. Let us greet these foreigners, who respect Allah, who, to supply us with the arms we have needed, have quitted their country and crossed boisterous seas. Receive with kindness these foreigners, the friends of our mountains."

These warriors of the wild glens and nooks of Circassia become almost the "heroes of fable." Sober and abstemious, the Circassian is inured to privations and fatigue; he seldom or never carries provisions with him. If the chase does not supply him, he has a right to take one sheep out of every flock he meets on his march; and in case of necessity he can do without food for forty-eight hours. At night he takes shelter under the first cliff: his large cloak (or *bourka*) of black skins serves him for mattress and blanket; if he happens to be surprised by the enemy with superior forces, and finds that it is impossible to escape, he stabs himself to the heart rather than surrender; but if he can combat he does so to the last. He handles his arms with equal dexterity on foot or on horseback. When his steed is at full gallop, he draws his musket from its sheath, takes aim and fires; scarcely ever missing his object; flings the weapon again back into its sheath, seizes his pistol, his sabre, or his yatagan, and all done with marvellous rapidity. His musket is exceedingly long, but of admirable precision.

The bullet is small and made of copper, both powder and lead being so scarce amongst them that a bullock is sometimes given for a pound of powder; the most desperate attacks are made on forts or magazines, with the hope of obtaining a supply of these valuable articles. The sabre used by these warriors is of the finest temper; it is bent in form, and has no guard to

protect the hand. The Circassian will sometimes pretend to be mortally wounded by a bullet; he will drop from the saddle, and, suspended to the stirrup by the feet, will allow himself to be dragged along by the horse. When the Cossack approaches to dispatch him the Circassian suddenly rises, and fires his pistol point blank at his head.

Notwithstanding the long time the Russians have been making war in this country, yet they are deplorably ignorant of the ground, and no opportunity has been allowed of making a map of Circassia. No one has yet penetrated into these glens; of their ravines and mountains the knowledge of the Russians is very limited indeed; they are therefore obliged to creep timidly along, while the natives act with a complete knowledge of the locality. They fall suddenly and terribly on the columns that are sent against them whenever they have the superiority of numbers and position, and they disappear amongst the clefts of the rocks as rapidly; they sometimes attack the head of the Russian column, and sometimes the end, which they almost invariably destroy, or with a precision that never misses bring down the officers; they then fall back through places where pursuit is hopeless; and often take up their position in the dense forests, which serve as one of the principal defences. The Russians sometimes, thinking that the coast is clear, penetrate into the forest, and in an instant, as if by magic, every tree is alive with men; showers of bullets pour down from above and below, and before the enemy can recover from his confusion the men fall in masses or fly; in fact there is scarcely a tree, the crest of a hill, a defile, a crag, or a stream in the Caucasus that is not impregnated with Russian blood. The mountaineers defend with indomitable obstinacy every inch of ground; it is a war without quarter, a war to the knife. On the grave of each Circassian that has fallen by a Russian bullet a mark is affixed,

which is never removed until the brother or father, or some more distant relative, avenge the death by that of an enemy. The pretended civilisation of the Muscovites has no charms with the mountaineers, and they are regardless of anything that would put in peril their independence, which they prize above existence. The Tcherkesses, who were in the Russian army, preserve in all respects their nationality, and cherish the most ardent love of their country; the children, who had been taken to St. Petersburg for the purpose of being educated in the orthodox religion, were sometimes sent back as missionaries to their native country; the first thing they did was to plunge their Greek Bibles into the rivers of the Caucasus. They returned to their homes with the same sentiments they had taken from them, and in most cases with increased hatred to the Russians.

*Schamyl* is one of the superior men whom the war of independence has produced. He was made prisoner in 1828 with Kasimada, his chief and predecessor; he was for a long time detained in a Russian fortress, and was set at liberty merely because his captors thought him inoffensive. The influence that *Schamyl* exercises over the tribes is almost magical; abstemious in his living, and austere in morals, he disregards the law of the Prophet which authorises the keeping of a harem, and applies his wealth to maintain his *murides* or body-guards, who render him great assistance in raising the more distant tribes against the Russians.

The war in Asia had again assumed some importance. In August Mustafa Zaref Pasha, commander-in-chief of the army of Batoum, advanced from Kars and attacked General Prince Bebatoff without success; the next day, on the 5th August, the Russian general assumed the offensive, and defeated the Turkish forces at Karakdar, near Gumri; by this exploit he opened the high road from Persia to Anatolia by the south of Mount Ararat. At this time such

were the difficulties interposed by Schamyl in the Caucasus, that almost all the supplies of provisions of the Russians at Teflis and in advance of it were conveyed to them by the precarious communications of the Caspian Sea; but nothing could exceed Zaref Pasha's unfitness for his situation, for he did not even display the courage of a common soldier. While Bebatoff lay in front of the main body of the Turks, some of Andronikoff's division had defeated the Turkish outposts which were approaching towards Erzeroum; 35,000 Turks advanced at midnight by the glimmer of torches to surprise the Russian position, but treachery had preceded them, and they found that they were expected. It was a disgraceful day. Zaref Pasha lost heart and head at the first shot, and galloped about the field pale with terror himself, and terrifying his followers. Resul Pasha fled at once on the right flank. Vely Pasha, through jealousy of Guyon, neglected to take that brave soldier's advice, which might have retrieved the day. The superior officers deserted their men; half an hour after the troops were engaged none of them were to be seen; the mountain battery, which had seized the heights commanding the Russian right, never fired a gun. Of the forty infantry battalions, the 5th Anatolian and the 4th Dezerdot regiments, alone resisted cavalry. One man, and one only, may be said to have acted with distinction; this was Tahir Pasha, in command of the Turkish artillery, which was admirably worked from first to last. Such was the fight beyond the hills of Hadji Velekey, where 35,000 Turks were ignobly defeated by 18,000 Russians, whom they had thought to take by surprise.

On the 20th August, however, General Bebatoff's combinations were defeated by the brave Schamyl. That indomitable chief, with 20,000 Lesghians and Circassians, broke into Georgia and carried away hostages from Teflis itself.

A large armament, consisting of 10,000 French troops, commanded by General Baraguay d'Hilliers, conveyed in British vessels, sailed from the ports of the north of France for the Baltic at the latter end of June. So intimate an alliance between England and France as the event here noted, if not unprecedented in history, has perhaps no parallel since the days of the Crusades, when a general encampment of Europe took place. At that period, the transport of 100,000 troops from end to end of Europe was a slow and tedious operation, but now that the great progress of science has brought the power of steam into operation, the East and West can be scarcely said to be two separate worlds. It is generally supposed, and has been frequently stated, that the armies of England and France have never side by side met a common foe since they battled against the hosts of Saladin; but we find, by reference to Hume's History,\* that Cromwell contracted an alliance with France, being particularly desirous at that time of conquest and dominion on the Continent, and that his General, Reynolds, with 6,000 men, joined the French army under Turenne, in Flanders, when siege was laid to Dunkirk. The allied armies fought the battle of the Duna, where the Spaniards were totally defeated. Dunkirk soon afterwards surrendered, and was, by agreement, delivered over to Cromwell. Again, in 1670, no less than 10,000 Englishmen co-operated with the armies of France against those of Holland and the Imperialists. It is said of these troops that they had acquired great honour in every action, and had contributed greatly to the successes of the "Grande Monarque;" and it is admitted that the desperate valour of the British troops, who were placed in the rear, was greatly instrumental in saving the French army. Here Captain Churchill, afterwards the great

\* Vol. vii., p. 236.



Marlborough, learned the rudiments of war, which he subsequently practised so successfully against France.

The expedition of the French forces to the Baltic soon began to co-operate with the British in an attack on the islands of Aland, which lie across the mouth of the Gulf of Bothnia, situated at the extremity of the Baltic, and close to the Gulf of Finland. In a military point of observation their position is excellent. The group is composed of seven islands, occupying an area of 90 square miles, with a population of 10,000 inhabitants. The Russians built on the island the fortress of Bomarsund, protected on the sea-side by extensive fortifications, and possessing a good roadstead, well sheltered, with a depth of from 30 to 50 fathoms. It is frequently visited by the Russian fleet of evolutions. The interior of the island is intersected by calcareous hills, and entered by a great number of rivulets, from which it derives its Scandinavian name of *Aland* (country of rivers). Its coast, deeply indented, offers excellent anchorage. The soil is fertile, and here and there are to be seen good pasture grounds and forests of birch and pine. The inhabitants are mostly farmers and fishers; the climate is wholesome, although rigorous in winter. The snow melts early, and the harbours freeze over late in the season, on account of the rapid currents of the meeting of the waters of the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland. Independent of Bomarsund, the archipelago contains several other fortified places, the principal of which are the islands of Siguesklar and Procutor. The islands of Aland are very important, in a political and military point of view, to Russia. They were wrested from Sweden by Russia, in 1809, by the treaty of Frederickstein, which secured to that Power the remainder of Finland and Eastern Bothnia. Russia had already acquired, the other part of Finland by the treaty of Abo. They were known to the Finns by the name of "Ahoennanman," and consist of no less than eighty inhabited and two hun-

dred uninhabited islands, the largest of which is about eighteen miles in length and fourteen in breadth. On the principal island, the fortress of Bomarsund had been constructed by the Russians within the last twenty years, and was said to be large enough to shelter 60,000 men within the range of its guns, and we learn that 10,000 men were employed in the construction of the works, during that portion of the year when it was possible to build in so severe a climate. The principal fort consisted of a small tier of semicircular casemated batteries, fronting the sea. At the distance of about 1,000 yards from the fortress and from the shore are three mounds or hillocks, two of which are fortified as detached works, mounting about twenty guns each; that to the north was called Fort Nothek, and was 130 feet high; that to the south was called the Tzee Fort; the central mound was used for a telegraph station. The islands were said to contain about 14,000 head of cattle, and the creeks and bays were full of fishes. It sometimes happens, but not every year, that the Sound of Wattaskifket, which divides the Aland Islands from Finland, is completely frozen over, as it was in 1809, when Buxhovden's army crossed and lit their bivouac fires on the solid ice.

The Allied troops landed on the 8th August, consisting of from 10,000 to 12,000 infantry and artillery, with a battering train directed by the two most skilful engineers in the English and French service. The landing was effected at three o'clock in the morning; the troops were accompanied by a body of British marines, and under the protection of the united fleets, they landed upon two points of the island of Lempar, without resistance from the enemy. This island is situated at the north of the archipelago of the Aland Islands. The soldiers advanced along the heights which crowned the fortification. From the 8th to the 11th the troops erected their batteries; the nature of the soil obliged them to use

earth-bags, and in one battery 15,000 of these bags were used. The attack on the fort met with complete success. The Allied forces acted together with the greatest spirit and gallantry, and their fire was well directed. The walls of the principal fort, Bomarsund, were nine feet thick, of solid granite, the roof of iron, and under the iron was sand six feet thick; by the attack, the roof was torn off the solid granite, and blown to fragments, and the ground ploughed up with shot. The ship that did this damage was 2,700 yards off. Fifty of the Russian garrison were killed, and the Allies lost 150 killed and wounded.

The capitulation of the principal fort to which the name of Bomarsund belongs, took place on the 16th August, just eight days after landing. About the middle of the day, a white cloth fastened to a pole, from one of the embrasures, was hung out as a flag of truce. Immediately a large white tablecloth was fastened to the signal halyards of the "Bull-dog," and run up to the foremast, where it fluttered in the clear blue sky. Every ship answered the signal except the "Edinburgh," which did not observe it at first, when the Admiral, seizing a speaking-trumpet, ordered them to desist firing. A boat was lowered, and Captain Hall, of the "Bull-dog," jumped into it, with three or four men, and pulled straight to the shore, which he approached with the white flag in his hand. Captain Hall landed, and stood on the shore all alone. Presently he walked into the fort, accompanied by his little boat's crew, and disappeared behind the western angle. Immediately the three Admirals—Napier, Chads, and Plumridge—put off in a boat, landed, and went into the fortress. It was a period of great anxiety, when the advanced Chasseurs and some few English sailors were seen mounting the rocks, and eagerly pressing into the gates of the fortress. General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and his staff, at the same time wound round the road, and galloped

up to the fort. The General motioned the soldiers to remove off for a few yards, for fear of treachery. Resistance on the part of the Russians, with 3000 of the enemy at their gates, and as many within call, would have been madness. Inside the fort the Governor, General Bodisco, an old man, with white hair and moustache, laid his hand upon his heart, and said to the English and French officers, "Gentlemen, I surrender myself into your hands, together with the soldiers of the fortress. I believe I have done my best to hold the place for my master and Emperor, but finding further resistance on our part useless, I place myself at your disposal, as the representatives of the Allied Powers, England and France." Then he delivered up his sword. A French aid-de-camp was at once despatched to order a general advance of their army, and at the same time the Royal Marines and Artillery, with the remainder of the Chasseurs, came scrambling down the ridges. They then entered the fortress, and took charge of the magazine, and the troops, pouring down, either entered or drew up in line. It is described as a scene of singular interest, to behold the conquerors animated with victory, and to contrast the dejected air of the Russian soldiers, as they leant forth from the embrasures, looking sullenly upon them. Under the walls of this huge fortification the ground was completely strewn with 84-pound shots, broken shells, grape and canister, intermixed with enormous sheets of iron that had been dislodged from the roof, and the granite walls had been broken in thousands of pieces. In the interior, which was a large square of parade-ground, the fatal missiles, and heaps of broken granite and brick-work, bespoke the terrible vigour of the siege. The Commander-in-Chief, with the British Admirals and their suite, with a brilliant staff of French officers on horseback, were drawn up in a space of ground on the outside; the whole army lined the way for 800 yards. Between the files the

prisoners came forth, two by two, the drums and fifes of the marines striking up national tunes, which were taken up by each regiment in the rear. The Russians looked dejected and care-worn; the only repose they could obtain for five days had been by the side of their guns. The Commanders then demanded the arms, which the prisoners brought and piled up in the square, near to the furnace where the red-hot shot had been heated. The Governor surrendered, with 2,000 prisoners, who were at once sent to England and France. The soldiers were scouring every nook and corner of the place, posting sentinels thereon. Two large pinnaces and cutters from the fleet rapidly embarked the men, and in three hours after the surrender they were placed on board the men-of-war. In the afternoon the Governor (General Bodisco), with two colonels, and the priest, were taken on board, in company with some few French officers. One hundred and twelve mounted guns were taken from the enemy, three mortars, seven field-pieces, and seventy-nine guns not mounted. The town and woods around the fort had been previously burnt by order of the Governor, that they might not afford shelter or fuel to the enemy. The French troops suffered much from cholera at Bomarsund. The fortress was soon afterwards blown up and abandoned.

## CHAPTER V.

THE war was now pursued against the Russians with considerable activity in Circassia by that indefatigable chief, Schamyl, who had collected 80,000 warriors to attack them simultaneously on different points; he had taken the field, and his energetic and eloquent proclamation produced throughout the mountains an extraordinary impression. Several Mingrelian tribes, who used to oppose him, had now joined his standard, through hatred of the Russians, their inveterate and irreconcilable enemies. The intermediate and mountainous regions of Circassia and Daghestan have been for twenty years the scene of the gallant struggle carried on by Schamyl and those warlike tribes who follow him against the Russians. Three roads connect the Transcaucasian provinces of Russia with the rest of Europe. The first winds along the coast of the Black Sea by Anapa, Ghelendjik, and Soukam Kaleh: it enters Imiretta and the valley of the Kour, in which Tiflis lies. The second follows the course of the Caspian to Derbent, an extensive fortified position, which has been in all ages regarded as one of the gates of Asia; it was captured by Peter the Great when he first turned his arms against Persia. The third road passes from Mosdok to Tiflis, by the valley of the Terek, and the fortress of the Darial, through one of the most terrific passes in the world.

The rest of the Caucasian chain is supposed to be wholly impassable by an army, though in the course of the Circassian war its valleys have been explored in every direction, and the Russians have constructed numerous forts to keep the country in check. Of these roads the first is insecure, if the Russians have not the command of the coast of the Black Sea ; the third is impracticable in winter ; the second is liable to interruption by the Lesghian tribes of Daghestan, who are the mortal enemies of the Russians ; but Derbent, though a bad port, may be reached by the steamers which the Russians alone possess on the Caspian Sea.

By reports from St. Petersburg, it appeared that the resistance of the Emperor Nicholas to the demands of the Allies continued to be as determined as ever. This was said to be due to the influence of the old Russian party, which continued to be predominant : he would not make the sacrifice of one of his ideas, and persisted in believing, in spite of the checks experienced by his troops, that the time had arrived for the accomplishment of his designs on Turkey. The Emperor held frequent reviews of the troops, which were assembling from all quarters ; the greatest precautions had been taken for the defence of Cronstadt, which was deemed impregnable ; the garrison was constantly under arms, and the artillerymen night and day were at their guns, ready to open the fire ; but it was added, that reasonable men in Russia were terrified at the situation in which the obstinacy of their master had placed the country and the rest of the population ; the small portion that reflect, were beginning to waver in their high opinion of the Emperor, and to cease to consider him as a demigod, since the signal defeat of his armies ; and that there was at bottom a latent general discontent, which it was expected would produce insurrection, and perhaps bring about a catastrophe.

## 182 OMAR PACHA'S SUCCESSES AGAINST THE RUSSIANS.

The privations which the war imposed on the population were sensibly felt in the capital, on account of the dearness of conveyance by land during the summer. Provisions of all kinds, even bread, were extremely dear; the wives and children of the soldiers of the reserves of the veterans followed them into the towns; encamped in the streets, and lived on public charity. Coal was very scarce, and private manufacturers were obliged to suspend their operations from the want of fuel.

The war on the Danube was pursued by the Turks with continued success; they crossed the river on the 7th July. Omar Pasha directed all his forces of 100,000 men upon Rutschuk; the battle commenced on the 12th at daybreak, and lasted till the night of the 13th. In this interval there were only a few moments of respite, and that not entirely so, since shells and red-hot balls were thrown from Rutschuk to the island, and reciprocally: both parties fought with a ferocity almost unparalleled. During ten days, more than 30,000 cannon-balls and shells were fired; it was, in fact, a warfare impossible to describe; the Russians were beaten and put to flight with the loss of more than 6,000 men. They at first evacuated the islands, blowing up the bridges behind them, and abandoning the guns, which they spiked; Turkish steamers were at anchor at Rutschuk, which received without delay, the infantry and artillery necessary for the occupation of the islands: their boats gallantly effected their object amidst a storm of bullets fired by the flying enemy, which did little damage. The fire continued during the whole of the day between Giurgevo and the islands: at night the Russians fell back in full retreat on Bucharest, abandoning their camp, with an immense quantity of stores. The Russians soon quitted that city, but previously, Prince Gortschakoff assembled the Boyars, and thanked them for the manner in which they had treated the Russian troops during their stay at



Bucharest. The General added, that strategic reasons had induced him to leave Bucharest, but that it was not improbable he might return to it at an early period.

In the beginning of July the Russian head-quarters were removed from Jassy, and withdrawn behind the Pruth. The expulsion of the invaders was now complete, and the campaign was finished. Omar Pasha sent in a message to the governor of the city that he should require lodging and provision for 12,000 men, and for 20,000 men outside the walls.

Halim Pasha at the head of 10,000 Turkish troops entered Bucharest on the 26th July, and on the following day he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, stating that the armies of their sovereign had entered the town "for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity and good order, and to respect the established government; thus will the Wallachians prove their loyalty and obedience to their all-powerful sovereign."

On the 20th August the long-expected and decisive movement of the Austrian armies into the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia took place, when the troops began to march over the frontier. This was preceded by a declaration that Russia should never return to these provinces in the character of an exclusive protectorate, and that her sway over the mouths of the Danube was at an end.

On the 22nd August, Omar Pasha entered Bucharest amidst the greatest excitement of the people. He was accompanied by a number of civil and military officials, and after passing through the principal streets, he retired to a country-house about a mile out of the city. He published a conciliatory proclamation, and in the name of the Sultan proclaimed an amnesty for all treason committed during a time of terror and military coercion.

The Russians being expelled from the principalities, which were now occupied by the Austrians, hostilities may be said to have ceased between the two

belligerents, whose quarrel had aroused Europe, and brought some of her bravest sons into the field, and on whom devolved principally the subsequent proceedings of the war.

We have already spoken of the frightful scourge of cholera amongst the troops. The accounts from the allied army at Varna now became very disastrous: the cholera first appeared amongst them on the 21st July, when sixteen French soldiers died out of twenty-five that were attacked by it; it had considerably increased by the 26th July, when it made frightful ravages from the camp to the town. Fatigue parties were busily engaged in the melancholy duties of burying the dead; hence the troops were much dispirited, which was increased by the uncertainty of their movements, and their consequent inactivity of life. Immense supplies of commissariat stores were thrown into the place, corn, rations of meat, chopped straw, bread, rice, sugar, coffee, &c. &c. which were principally consumed by a fire which broke out on the 11th August, destroying a number of houses belonging to the Turks, consisting of more than a quarter of the town. The scene is described as of the most appalling nature; amidst the howling of the inhabitants, the yells of the dogs, and the clamour of children, a brisk wind prevailed, which fanned the flames as they swept along wooden streets. The sailors of the ships, and the French and English soldiery worked for ten hours, as long as the fire lasted, with the greatest energy, in quelling the flames, which were attributed to the Greeks, and so far were they deemed the incendiaries, that two of them were taken prisoners and hung.

The British troops had to this time remained inactive; their camp was established in the pestilential valleys of the neighbourhood of Varna, where they were soon attacked by cholera; the scourge was increased by their prolonged state of inactivity, and they were soon reduced from despondency almost to

despair, as they sat listlessly watching the mournful processions of their dying comrades being conveyed to the wide-spreading graveyards, which seemed to yawn for their general entombment; even those who had been the strongest now staggered under the weight of their knapsacks. Regiments were now reduced to from 300 to 400 sickly men, who wandered through the silent camp mere spectres of British guardsmen; they prayed, at whatever risk, to be led out against the enemy, rather than to die the inglorious death which was so fast decimating their ranks.

The attack of the French troops by cholera has been already alluded to; their greatest loss was sustained in the Dobrudscha, where General Espinasse suffered most severely. The unfortunate men perished by whole ranks; the air they breathed, the water they were compelled to drink, the earth on which they fell, seemed to be poisoned by the natural exhalation of the soil which had covered the land with putrefaction. The survivors of the detachment reached Kostendje and other places on the coast to the French vessels which had been sent to take them off in the most wretched state; and this will remain one of the darkest French pages of the history of the war.

The blockade of Sebastopol by the allied fleets was thought to be so strict that no Russian vessel could evade it; but a remarkable instance to the contrary was proved by the escape of the frigate 'Wladimir,' Captain Photiades, who made her way without molestation to the mouth of the Bosphorus. She then proceeded to the Asiatic coast, and there sank several Turkish vessels laden with corn. She next went to Heraclia, and brought off two vessels laden with coal. She was expecting to have surprised the English steamer 'Cyclops;' which, having landed her guns, would have fallen an easy prey had she been in the roads; but she was fortunately detained at Constantinople for the purpose of undergoing

some repairs. The 'Wladimir' was a paddle-wheel steamer, which could not progress without the usual noise of puffing and smoking, making it the more extraordinary that she could avoid the vigilance of the allied fleet. She was painted like an Austrian for the occasion, and showed her name as 'Fernando Primo;' thus she eluded twenty-four sail of the line and a great number of steamers, and brought her prizes safely in tow.

It was on the 28th of June that intelligence was received in Paris and London that the defensive period of the campaign was at an end, and that the Russian forces were retreating behind the Danube. It may be fairly said, that although the Turkish troops had effected this result by their personal bravery, yet that they had been materially assisted by the moral force of the Allies, by whom, without striking a blow, the Ottoman empire was saved. The Porte freely allowed by treaty the occupation of her territory from Constantinople to Varna, and had it been deemed necessary, that occupation would have been permanent. The object of the Allies was now attained. Stamboul was rescued from the gripe of the Russian bear; the Euxine was open to the fleets of all nations; the Danube was freed from Russian interruptions, and never was an expedition more successful in its do-nothing operations, when it might have been supposed that the allied troops would have been withdrawn; but not so—the war fever was still at its height, the Allies must seek on the enemy's coast for some "material guarantees" that the peace of Europe should not be again disturbed, which, from the cabinets to the camps, was sorely agitated; but this war has proved the most costly sacrifice of men and money which history has perhaps ever yet recorded.

The first instructions to the commanders are said to have been "to make Constantinople safe," then to secure the Balkan mountains, and if necessary for

that purpose, to act upon the Danube. The Generals now waited for further orders, when the English and French Cabinets took upon themselves the responsibility of directing that great enterprise on the Crimea, the key-stone of the arch which Russia had flung across the Euxine to thread the Bosphorus—to conquer Constantinople. Our narration of this enterprise will show how totally destitute of information were the two Cabinets respecting the country which they had given orders to invade, of the strength of the fortresses they were ordered to attack, of the number of the enemy's troops already within the walls, so that they could in no way appreciate the difficulties attending the enterprise. At this time, as we have shown, cholera was decimating the troops, they preferred the cannon's mouth to the insidious disease; and the moment it was bruited in the camp that they were to be employed on this service, their health and spirits rallied. The experiment was tried of sending some of the transports to sea with cholera on board. The very poultry and sheep died of it. The 'Britannia' had 100 men seized one afternoon. Six weeks elapsed before the preparations for the expedition were completed, but the allied Generals were indefatigable in the work, in which they were materially assisted by the Turks. Flat-bottomed boats, or platforms for landing horses, guns, and men were constructed at the Arsenal at Constantinople, and conveyed to Varna.

On the 26th August a council of war was held at Varna by all the English and French Generals, who sat for several hours, when the expedition to the Crimea was decided upon. Marshal St. Arnaud issued an order of the day, announcing that the time was come for fighting and conquering. The spirits of the army revived. Sebastopol, a citadel which harboured the fleet, always ready to threaten the Bosphorus, was to be taken as well as the fleet, that sort of floating bridge which in the mind of the

Tzar had long united Constantinople to St. Petersburg.

Before we proceed with the history of the expedition, it may be interesting to trace the effect on the Osmanlis of their forced intercourse with the foreigners: the Mussulmans most cordially despised them, although now indebted to the Ferenjees for their national existence. It is an epoch in their history, which must materially affect their future destiny, and probably sap the very foundation of Mahommedan power. What the French and English have already effected is far more than what the Muscovites proposed to do. Our active and spirited Allies began to pull down the wooden houses at Pera and Galata and to rebuild them of stone, to widen the streets, establishing police-offices, &c., and all without the sanction, or even consulting the constituted authorities. They even made roads across their burying-grounds, digging up and throwing aside without ceremony the remains of good Mussulmans when they came in their way, than which nothing can be so offensive to the Osmanlis, and the Pasha of Galipoli actually died from fright. They chose the best buildings for hospitals and barracks. These indeed were granted by the authorities, who had no power to refuse them. They opened many sources of social intercourse with the Osmanlis, which had, as it were, been hermetically sealed before.

That the intercourse of Europeans with the Turks should serve to break down many of their ancient prejudices, we had every reason to suppose; but that it should extend even to the profanation of their mosques by the infidel tread, was more than the most sanguine could have expected. We learn from Constantinople, that the "Ferenjee," by merely taking off his shoes, may enter the mosque of St. Sophia without let or hindrance, and may stroll into that of Sultan Achmet during divine service; that he

may hear the chants of the Imams, and observe the prostrations of the worshippers; continuing his walk, he may wander about the Seraglio gardens without interruption; the officer of the guard, it is true, may stop him, but it will be merely to offer him the refreshment of coffee and pipes; then he may walk in the courts of the Serai itself, and gaze at the old heterogeneous mass of splendour, which is now in a state of rapid decay. The Turks are much improved in civility, and the women wear their "yashmaks" generally smaller and thinner; the time is not far distant when this part of the dress will be an air-woven web. But the most extraordinary innovation made upon the Moslem soil is, that the cross has been publicly raised in the Catholic burying-ground belonging to the French, where it was publicly carried at the interment of one of their soldiers, and finally planted at the head of his grave. Such an event has not occurred for the last four centuries: furthermore, the Sultan issued a firman for the construction of a church at Scutari of which the following are the principal passages, addressed to the Mussulman functionary of the Padishah:—"The Catholic population of the town of Scutari having implored the imperial permission to build a church in which they might perform divine service, I have issued in writing this sacred order granting the permission. It is useless to call to mind that the tranquillity and welfare of the subjects of the Sublime Porte are one of the sacred objects of my Imperial solicitude. I have therefore issued an order, emanating from my Imperial Divan, granting the permission for building the said church. As soon as all of you, Governor, Naib, and Mufti, shall be acquainted with this Imperial Order, take care that no one oppose the construction of the church in a convenient spot; and also take care that not a farthing be taken from the Catholics for that purpose. Know this, and obey the Imperial sign. Done in

the middle of the sacred month of Zelledgi in the year 1270 (September 1854).

**“ ABDUL MEDJID.”**

It would be, perhaps, deemed foreign to our “history of the war” to dwell longer on the Ferenjee innovations made upon the Moslems. We will therefore revert once more to the Russians, who were now preparing in the most determined manner to resist the invading forces of England and France, whenever they appeared off their coasts. Of this we have a striking instance in Odessa, which city the invaders were expected to visit. The following order to the people was issued by the Governor:—“The enemy is again seen in greater force than before at no great distance from our city. We are armed and well prepared against any attempts which may be made by them to land; but the guns of his vessels have a very long range. Do not lose courage, but keep wet cloths and hides of oxen prepared to cast them over any shells which may be thrown into the city. Tubs full of water must be kept on the roofs of the houses, so that any fire may be at once extinguished. Should the enemy, however, carry on the war with obstinacy, under protection of his guns, we will retire to Tiraspil, after having reduced the city to ruins and ashes, so that no asylum may be found. Woe to those who may remain behind, or who may attempt to extinguish the fire.

**“ KRUSENSTERN, Governor.”**

That the Russians would submit to the Allies could scarcely be expected, so fanatic and submissive are they to their government. Disasters will only awaken and arouse them to renewed exertion. The Russian party is nothing less than the national will; the power of the Tzar, however great, has a limit which cannot be passed, and that is the national will. What is the loss to him of a few ports or a few ships? We learn by her history, that Russia has been accus-



tomed to disasters.\* But all these losses, strange as it may seem, so far from weakening, led in the end to the steady growth of the Russian empire, and of her influence over European nations. Nor must Russia be judged of by a European standard. The people are highly patriotic; none are fonder of "fatherland." You may occupy their soil, and drive them to the interior, or, as Frederick the Great said, "You may destroy the Russian soldiers but cannot conquer them."

It is confidently stated, that throughout the Russian dominions, from the Caucasus to St. Petersburg, but one feeling exists as to the justice of the war in which the Emperor is engaged; that noble, peasant, and serf, are animated by the same intense enthusiasm. We know from their history, that the ambition of conquest has been the end and aim of all their monarchs; indeed, we find that the Tzar on his accession takes an oath that he will not only do his utmost to preserve his dominions *unimpaired*, but that he will do his utmost to *extend* them; for, contrary to the usages of constitutional monarchies, in Russia the sovereign *receives the oaths of his subjects*, instead of swearing to be faithful to the trust reposed in him. The Emperor, as the head of their church and the champion of their faith, having in the present war taken up the gage of battle against the *heathen* (as he deems both the Allies and the Turks), has enlisted the sympathies of his people to the greatest fanaticism, and to assist this feeling, monks and priests are scattered throughout the empire, preaching the holiness of the crusade, promising success, and calling upon all persons to aid its accomplishment; they are provided with boxes, on which is carved the form of a cross, and every one contributes his mite to a patriotic fund, which is raised for the purposes of the war. The people are

\* Peter the Great on the Pruth, see "Sovereigns of Russia," vol. i. p. 265.

told that they arm in the defence of Christianity; their churches are open night and day, where they offer up their prayers for the triumph of Russia. It is instilled into the soldiers' minds by the priests, that whoever dies in battle shall be received into glory. The Emperor is regarded by them as a demi-god; hence he is universally strong in his power, he has no internal dissensions, no revolutions to fear throughout his vast dominions; he can consequently concentrate his armies at any given point without scarcely leaving any troops for the national defences.

It has been generally imagined that the formidable power of Russia rests on her numerical strength only; but not so—they have a moral and intellectual power which has been but little appreciated; the serfs have certain political rights and social advantages, which bind their attachment to the soil and their loyalty to their sovereign. Of the patriotism of the Russians we have an example almost unparalleled in history, that of burning the holy city of Moscow in order to expel the invaders from their soil. The wealth of the nation is partly demonstrated by the superabundance of gold and silver ornaments in their churches, all of which would be laid on the altar of their country when her danger demands the sacrifice, and we have a more recent instance of their having sunk five sail of the line and two frigates at the mouth of the harbour of Sebastopol, to prevent the entrance of the enemy's fleet. It has been imagined that the machinery of government, to keep together such an unwieldy empire, must, at its remote branches, be ineffective, but even in the distant Pacific the same combined energy of skill and talent was displayed against the enemies of Russia when they attacked their country.

On the 29th of August a naval expedition appeared off the Russian settlement, Petropaulovski, consisting of three French vessels, the 'Eurydice,' 'Lafoote,' and 'Oblijado,' mounting altogether 102 guns, and

three English vessels, the 'President,' 'Pique,' and 'Virago,' mounting together 100 guns, making in all 208 guns on the part of the Allies. The British Admiral Price died just as the fleet was preparing for action, which was consequently postponed till the following day, when the British sailors fought with his body on board the 'President.' The admiral's death threw a gloom over the whole fleet, since he was universally beloved; the French admiral took the command, and conducted the bombardment of this Russian settlement on the eastern shore of Kamskatka, a country situated on the east shore of Siberia, and may almost be called a province: it is long and narrow, having the sea on all sides except at the neck where it joins the mainland, where were eight batteries mounting 80 guns, two men-of-war were in the harbour, which did great damage, mounting altogether 144 guns. Petropaulovski was a strong position, fortified by nature, and capable of resisting a superior force; the population was reckoned at 2,000 in addition to the garrison. The allied fleet was steered into the harbour by an American pilot, when the troops were immediately landed and pressed on with the greatest rapidity, they succeeded in destroying the gun carriages of the battery and spiking the guns; they fought like madmen, but met with such a warm reception from the enemy that they were obliged to retire carrying off their wounded; which they did through a thick brushwood and brambles arresting their progress at every step. This brushwood afforded to the Russian sharpshooters a secure and almost impenetrable shelter, they shot dead every man of whom they caught a glance; destructive volleys were poured in upon the assailants in their rear; who had no alternative but to jump down the precipice or be shot. The affair was a costly one, including one English and three French officers, amounting altogether to 60 men, both French and English, and a great many

## 194 SEBASTOPOL, THE CAPITAL OF THE CRIMEA.

wounded. The Russians are said to have lost a great many men, and their three frigates were severely injured. Admiral Price was interred in the bay of Terinske. Thus ended the affair in the Pacific, so costly to the allies and so totally unproductive of the advantages expected to be derived from it.

Before we proceed with the history of the expedition to the Crimea, we will give a brief sketch of the country which the allied troops were about to invade, and of the fortress of Sebastopol, which they were about to besiege. The Crimea was annexed to the Russian empire in the reign of Catherine II., when the great Tzarina made her triumphal tour through the newly-conquered territory, and was highly gratified at Kherson to find an arch erected with this inscription—"This way leads to Byzantium." The city of Sebastopol was founded during her reign, of which we have to give some report. The Crimea is a peninsula, situated at the extreme south of the Russian empire, and connected with the continental territory by the Isthmus of Perekop. This isthmus is but a narrow strip of land (see map), and is traversed by a wall of masonry from sea to sea. The only access to the peninsula is through an arched gateway in the wall, and the possession of this fortified line it was supposed would effectually close the Crimea against an enemy, so that if occupied by the Allies the Crimea would be at their discretion, since no further reinforcements could be brought up, and the whole peninsula would be in a state of siege—but not so—for some time back the Russians constructed across the shallows of the Putrid Sea *another great military road* to the Crimea. So effectually was it done that it is actually the better road of the two, and so quietly, that Western Europe never heard anything of the matter. To the east of Perekop there stands a narrow lake, known as the Putrid Sea, which is separated from the Sea of Asoph by a narrow dyke-like strip of land, running

up from the eastern corner of the Crimea, almost touching the Russian continent, at a place called the Straits of Gentisch. It is possible for troops marching into the Crimea from the interior of the empire to leave the Isthmus of Perekop in their rear; to march along the coast of the Putrid Sea called the Isthmus of Araba, and to enter the Crimea a few miles north of Kupfa. This route was actually taken by a Russian General in the last century, and still forms a commercial road between the eastern parts of the Crimea and continent. Some nine or ten years ago a road was commenced, upon bridges and viaducts, across the Putrid Sea, and was completed some time before the outbreak of the present war. The whole sea, besides being shallow, is so full of shoals and shallows, that many facilities to the undertaking were no doubt discovered. Foundations were laid at the favourable points of shoals, and bridges then carried from one point to another, till the communication was completed. The road is said to be the best available for the passage of troops and stores from Russia to the Crimea.

The expedition to the Crimea being decided upon, the ships destined for that purpose began to rendezvous, in the beginning of September, in the little Bay of Baltjik, where the sea was literally covered for the space of eight miles long with the splendid shipping of the Allied Powers. The renowned Spanish Armada could have been nothing to this largest naval armament that had ever floated on any waters. Ships of such an immense size as had never before been constructed, and bearing with them missiles of war unparalleled in their powers of destruction. Here were 37 sail of the line: 10 English, 16 French, and 11 Turkish, with about 100 frigates and vessels of war, and nearly 200 of the finest steam and sailing transports in the world, lying at anchor in one immense semicircle, nine or ten deep. The great line-of-battle ships, with lights gleaming from every port

looked like an illuminated town afloat; while the vessels with postern lights hoisted at the main and fore, shed a light upon the sea twinkling away until lost in the distance. Each division of the army carried lights corresponding to the number of their division, and at night when about 400 ships were lighted up the effect was of the most extraordinary and interesting description. On the 4th September all the troops had embarked without accident, consisting of 60,000 men; and on the 9th the expedition anchored off the Isle of Serpents, at the mouth of the Danube. A conference took place the previous day on board the 'Caradoc' between Lord Raglan, Marshal St. Arnaud, Rear-Admiral Lyons, and several other military and naval officers of high rank, when it was decided upon that they should proceed to examine the Crimean coast, from Cape Chersonese to Eupatoria, with the intention of finally determining the place of landing.

It is said that a considerable difference of opinion prevailed in the council as to the proper spot for landing the troops; the south of Sebastopol was abandoned, since the precipitate nature of the southern coast prevented any safe anchorage. It remained, therefore, to find a suitable place to the north of the town, combining the many essentials—that of being protected, as far as possible, from the prevailing winds, and to find an adequate supply of water. The coast was formed of high cliffs, opening to narrow valleys, with three small rivers flowing into the sea—the Belbec, the Katcha, and the Alma; small lagunes likewise intersecting these valleys.

It has been confidently stated, that, even after the armada sailed from Varna, some doubt was entertained by the commanders of the expedition as to the practicability of a descent upon the Crimea at all, and ~~that not~~ till after this conference was it resolved to ~~proceed~~ <sup>proceed</sup> in the enterprise. Certain it is, that all ~~the troops~~ on board the fleet were ignorant of their ~~intended~~ destination; but when once it was made

known, no time was lost in making the signal for sailing, when smoke rose from a hundred chimneys, and numberless white sails glittered in the sun. The result of the examination of the coast was, that the expedition of the Allied Armies should land on the strip of beach separating the sea from one of these lagunes, called the Tazia. The 'Caradoc,' on board which were the generals engaged in exploring the shore, went so near the cliffs that the Russian officers were seen, well dressed, busying themselves in front of their men, and getting their glasses to a focus, to observe the new comers. The English officers hereupon took off their hats and bowed—a courtesy which was duly returned. The 'Caradoc' returned to the fleet, and on the following morning, viz., the 11th September, at four o'clock, three guns from the 'Agamemnon' in quick succession awoke up the sleepers of the fleet—"prepare to weigh anchor," and in a quarter of an hour the smoke arising from the various steamers mingled with the white streaks of steam. The sailing vessels were divided into squadrons; to each division was attached a steamer, which was distinguished during the day by its flag, and at night by the number of lights at the mizen; and each vessel had the number of the regiment and the nature of the troops it bore marked in large letters on her side: every boat had its appointed place and crew, and the clearest directions were given by the officers in charge to the men under their command to avoid confusion in the event of any attempt being made to oppose their landing by the enemy; but no enemy approached. Never had so large a fleet been brought together, and never had the power of steam been employed on so vast a scale as in conducting this expedition, consisting of nearly 700 vessels, each bearing its living burden, with flags of many colours fluttering in the breeze, their tall masts and slender spars seen gliding along the

motionless waters. Never had the martial power of England been so displayed as in her part of this magnificent Anglo-French armada; and as the sun appeared, the effect was much heightened by the braying of trumpets, the rolling of drums, and the sound of other martial music which filled the air, animating, as it were, the progress of this proud armament, and exciting the sons of Britain and France to the most heroic deeds of glory.

The vessels now under weigh, their lines about half-a-mile apart, were carried by a gentle breeze off shore, when this vast armada divided into five divisions. Ere an hour had elapsed, they had extended over half the circumference of the horizon, presenting an effect which it is said no pen can describe. The expedition in its magnitude has no parallel in history; the immense number of vessels employed in it, with such capabilities of locomotion, bearing with it such enormous power of destruction, consisting of 6,000 guns, flanked by men-of-war and steamers, the latter pouring forth volumes of smoke, sufficient to darken the whole horizon, column after column darkening the clouds, giving literally to the Euxine, over which they were passing, the name of the "Black Sea." The smoke from the funnels was a considerable drawback to the scene, and occasionally hid its beauty; the sea was obscured and overspread by a thick brown mist, which rested round the shipping like a fog-bank; but when it was not so obscured, the *coup-d'œil* was magnificent, beautiful, and picturesque. From time to time signals were made to keep the stragglers in order; the infinite diversity of rigging is described as having the effect of a great network; the transports, laden with troops, were of very large burden, and were towed by steamers.

On the Friday morning the wind blew fresh; it was a head wind and a light head sea, which caused such a



severe strain upon hawsers and steamers that in some instances they parted: this somewhat retarded progress: towards evening the wind went down, and the weather became wet and cold, but previously it had been superb, and all that could be wished. The glorious sunset of the Black Sea is described, as the fleet lay at anchor, as most magnificent: such is its general character in this part of the world. "It was one of those rich calm evenings, clear and golden, like the master-pieces of Claude, bright and surpassing in its loveliness. Like the close of day in all unhealthy climates, not a breath stirred—not a sound broke the intense stillness. To judge by the heavy silence, every one throughout the vast fleet seemed absorbed in the beauty of the scene, till the quick heavy booms of the sunset guns, re-echoed in a thousand tones from cliff to cliff, dispelled the illusion, and among the long, loud notes of cavalry trumpets and infantry bugles, the flags of all the ships were struck; the striking of the 'watches' kept up a constant chime of bells throughout the fleet; now swelling into a heavy toll, now dying away into a mere tinkling, as the French transports to leeward took up the signal, and marked how the hours flew which yet intervened between the death-struggle of the Allies and the enemy. At nine, infantry bugles, in vessels three miles at sea, blew lustily to recall stragglers; and at midnight the silver trumpets from cavalry transports wound clear and long their melancholy notes, proclaiming to the assembled squadron that none of their men were absent. So the night passed on, the wind in the mean time freshening, and going round more in our favour every hour."\*

The French fleet lay to in two long parallel lines for half an hour only, when the English fleet approached, presenting one of the most magnificent maritime *coups d'œil* that can be imagined. The lines were now

\* Letter from an officer.

about the third of a mile apart, and each vessel only a cable's length from the one before it, keeping its exact position like so many row-boats. The instant the signal was given, all immediately stopped in their lines with the utmost precision; the English fleet came up steadily in one long line, passing to leeward under the sterns of the French men-of-war, which kept their places with such accuracy, that looking between their lines, seemed looking down a long street of first-rates; at the same time the Turkish fleet passing to windward, backed topsails and lay to, to enable the other ships to pass; there was no noise beyond the heavy flapping of the sails; but plenty of smoke: enormous three-deckers traversed around on all sides. Soon, however, the appearance of confusion cleared away; the English line-of-battle ships, towed by the splendid steam frigates going head to wind, gradually cleared out; the French fleet fell off to the east, and the Turks to the west, when the fleet of transports in six long columns, like regiments of vessels, passed through the opening in magnificent style.

The British fleet scarcely moved on Saturday, and on Sunday they were at anchor in the middle of the Black Sea, at 25 fathoms, in very good order, on which day, service was generally performed on board. "There was a marked seriousness among the soldiers, and every word uttered by the chaplain was anxiously caught by them. There was a stillness and quiet on board as if Nature almost feared to stir whilst the Creator was adored. Nothing is more soul-stirring than the worship at sea, under the soft blue sky of the southern latitude, when the exquisitely-expressive prayers of our beautiful liturgy, tending to draw the heart heavenwards, and to wean it from the world to a holier home, seemed to engage all who joined in it with the most touching feelings of devotion. The cleanliness of the ships and of the crews was at the same time most

conspicuous. The day throughout was calm. The chaplain, with a benign face, expanded forehead, bald head, and pleasing voice, gave a short but very pithy practical sermon, and I am sure the most thoughtless were compelled at such a juncture as this to reflection. I have been greatly struck with the number of earnest-minded soldiers in the various regiments, and several chaplains have assured me that ministering to a thousand soldiers is easier and much more effectual than the labours of the most zealous clergyman among an equal number in any of our manufacturing districts.”\*

On the 12th the order was given to steer to the Crimea, when their course lay to the south-western promontory of the Chersonese. The fleet was then formed in five lines, about 900 yards apart from each other, and an interval of about 500 yards between the last vessel towed by the first steamer in each line, and the steamer towing the two next vessels in succession; average speed of the expedition three miles an hour. The sea was very smooth and tranquil. The sun was hot, but the wind felt cold and piercing at times. The fleet stretched across the diameter of a circle, with a front of some eighteen miles broad, and gradually the irregular and broken lines tapered away, till they were lost in little mounds and dots of smoke from the position of the steamers far below the horizon. The night was fine, but the sharpness of the air told the approach of winter. A heavy shower of hail fell at intervals, covering the decks with coatings of ice two inches thick. The rising sun displayed the shores of the Crimea at the distance of about twenty miles; the country beyond the line of beach, though bleak and sandy, was tolerably well cultivated to the margin of the sand. At length a white-washed farmhouse or fishing station, surrounded by outhouses, was visible on the sea-shore; the land was evidently a promontory.

\* Morning Post Correspondent.

At six o'clock next morning, the anchor was let go in sixteen fathoms water, at the distance of twelve or fifteen miles from the shore. Some collision naturally took place among so many ships, but without any serious consequences. The sunset was of singular splendour and beauty; heavy masses of rich blue clouds hung in the west, through innumerable golden chasms, through which the sun poured a flood of yellow beauty over the dancing waters, laden with such a fleet as had never before ploughed the Euxine. When evening set in, the bands of the various regiments, the drums and fifes of those which had no bands, the trumpets of cavalry and horse artillery, and the infantry bugles, formed a concert of such prodigious noise, that it must have been heard on shore, in spite of the contrary breeze. When night came on, and all the ships were hung out, it seemed as if the stars had settled down on the face of the waters; little constellations were twinkling far and near, till they were lost in faint halos in the distance. Flashes of the most brilliant lightning from time to time lifted the veil of night from the ocean, and disclosed distant ships and steamers lying at anchor, as far as the eye could reach. The men seemed in excellent health and spirits, the voyage having done the army good, and they were looking forward with impatience to their landing to-morrow. The place of this anchorage was Schapan; but at six o'clock the following morning the order was given to weigh, and proceed to Eupatoria, and at a quarter past three the expedition anchored off the town, at the distance of two or three miles. Orders were then given that the men, on landing, were to be furnished with rations for three days, and were to carry one blanket, a great coat, a pair of shoes, one shirt, one pair of socks, and a foraging-cap.

While the sea was covered, as far as the eye could reach, with 700 sail of vessels, it was then uncertain

to what part of the coast it would be directed, and immediately that the vessels had taken up their moorings it was decided upon again to reconnoitre the coast, when the steamer 'Caradoc' was ordered for that purpose, Lord Raglan being then on board. He was joined by Sir John Burgoyne, Sir Edmund Lyons, and Sir George Brown; and, after a short consultation, signal was made to the flag-ship, 'Agamemnon,' and the steamer, 'Samson,' to attend upon the 'Caradoc' during the expedition. Steering for Kalamita Bay, they continued their cruise for Sebastopol, and from thence to the north of Fort Constantine. They could distinctly see with their glasses the Russian soldiers swarming along the battlements, who made no attempt to fire upon the British ships, although only a mile within range.

After this "reconnaissance," the 'Caradoc' and her escort returned to the fleet. The next morning a council of war was held between the military and naval chiefs.

It is said that some difference of opinion existed in the council as to the most eligible spot for landing, but it was at length decided upon that the Lake of Kamichila Gailoe, situate halfway between Sebastopol and Eupatoria, would be the most eligible. On the 12th preparations were made for landing, but through some misunderstanding with the French Admiral, the fleets did not unite on that day, which was almost wholly lost. All that could be done was to summon Eupatoria; when the 'Caradoc' hoisted a flag of truce, and stood in towards the town, accompanied by five steam frigates. Eupatoria covers a large expanse of ground, and it was at first imagined that it was defended by heavy works, for the solid stone houses, close to the sea, were built on ground so high that they looked like forts. The first was a Government-looking building, with a red roof and white columns. As the 'Caradoc' approached the shore, with a white gun-room table-

cloth flying at the mast-head, the people flocked down to the pier in thousands. Turks, Greeks, and Russians made an indiscriminate rush, and swarmed about the pier and landing-place. The garrison was then summoned by a British officer to lay down their arms, to which a civil Governor replied that there was no garrison there to lay down their arms, and that the Allies would be allowed to occupy the place without molestation from the inhabitants, who trusted in return to receive good treatment. The Governor then delivered up his sword, with an official bow. The officer returned with the trophy, and preparations were made to occupy the place. Eupatoria surrendered at discretion, and placed all its stores of corn, cattle, &c., at the disposal of the Allies. The town, having 8,000 inhabitants, was then garrisoned by 500 marines, under Captain Brock, and a depôt was established. It is forty miles from Sebastopol, and divided from it by immense plains, with scarcely any water to be found on them.

The place selected for landing the expedition was a low strip of beach and shingle, cast up by the violence of the surf, and forming a sort of causeway between the sea and a stagnant salt lake, about a mile long and half a mile broad, the causeway not more than 200 yards broad; the country inland was covered with cattle and with farm-houses. The day-break of Thursday gave promise of a lovely morning: the sun rose from a cloudless sky. At 7 p.m. all the vessels were drawn up in an immense line, with a front extending nine miles, and in their prescribed five positions to correspond with the four divisions of infantry and one of cavalry: the first division commanded by the Duke of Cambridge, the second by Lieut.-General Sir De Lacy Evans, the third by Sir R. England, the fourth by Sir George Cathcart, the cavalry, or fifth division, by the Earl of Lucan: the French fleet extended itself on the right of the British, and ran in close to the shore.

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On the 14th of September at daybreak the armada came to anchor off Old Fort, at which place it was resolved the disembarcation should take place; the anxiously-expected signal was given, when the steamers and transports weighed and formed into lines; the French admiral anchored off the northern extremity of the bay, the 'Agamemnon' sought anchorage to the northward of the bay, which afforded an effectual protection to the men on the land side. One British transport containing the artillery grounded on the coast, several vessels ran foul of each other, but no accident whatever of any importance happened. Then for the first time in history, and where no soldiers of Western Europe had trodden since the days of the Crusades, were 35,000 British troops and 23,500 French troops landed in safety in the Crimea, without loss or accident, and undisturbed by the enemy. A French boat went off from one of the men-of-war with not more than 12 or 15 men on board; the crew leaped out, and these were the first of the allied armies to land on the Crimea. They were busily engaged for a minute or two on one spot of ground, when presently a flag-staff was visible over their heads, and in a moment the tricolor was run up to the top amidst the shouts of "Vive l'Empereur;" the French admiral fired a gun soon after eight o'clock, when the disembarcation of their troops commenced; in twenty-two minutes they had 6,000 men on shore. The French army had been mostly on board line-of-battle ships; the 'Montebello' carried upwards of 1,400 men, in addition to her crew. The instant the French landed, a company was pushed on to reconnoitre. Skirmishers, or pioneers, were sent in front; in about an hour after, nearly 8,000 more troops were on shore, and shortly after the whole of their troops were safely landed.

The signal being given for landing, the British boats laden with men darted about the sides of the vessels, and among the first Englishmen to land was

Sir George Brown; the first British troops was a company of a regiment of the light division, the 7th Fusiliers, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Yea; but it should be noticed that a small boat from the 'Britannia,' commanded by Lieut. Vesey, had however preceded the Fusiliers, and landed some men on the beach, who went down into the hollow at the foot of the cliffs. There was no enemy in sight. The inhabitants of the country appeared scarcely to notice the invaders. Carriages rolled along the high roads; the peasantry were employed in bringing in the produce of the fields to the villages, the half-finished harvest being transported in long lines of arabas or carts. The figure of a mounted officer, with three Cossacks, had fallen within the scope of many a glass: he rode slowly by the edge of the cliff, noting down with great coolness in a pocket-book the arrival of the enemy; he was attended by four Cossacks, and as he continued his sketching, Sir George Brown came in view on foot, attended by a Quartermaster-general only: it was evident that they were seen by the Russians, of whose proximity the British general and his Quartermaster were ignorant. Sir George went forward without sending out videttes; he was busy surveying the country, and pointing out to the Quartermaster various spots, when he had a near escape of being made a prisoner. The Cossacks had followed him, and suddenly making a dash, they were within less than a hundred yards, when the general ran off, and he was saved only by the fire of some fusiliers, who had come up to his aid.

The landing was an extraordinary scene of bustle and excitement; hundreds of launches, pinnaces, and cutters, from the men-of-war, were coming in every moment, laden with bags of biscuit or beef, hay, &c. As they came in, sailors with life-belts jumped overboard, and with a hawser struggled through the surf to the land as best they could: some



were bathing in the sea, others seemed to like the excitement of the scene, whilst some were ill from cold and exposure, and lying about with a quiet listless indifference. Commissaries were looking after the landing of supplies. Artillery officers for the guns and ammunition. Officers of all ranks, French and English, were galloping about, shouting and gesticulating to working parties, amid a ceaseless roar from the sea which was enough to deafen any one. Amidst all this was a vast confusion of guns, waggons, artillery, horses, hogsheads of beef, officers' baggage, rifles, light carts, bags of rice and coffee, saddles and harness, camp kettles, &c. ; these miscellanies were being deposited every minute all along the shore for a distance of three miles: such a scene of hurry, excitement, and bustle, was probably never before witnessed.

By twelve o'clock in the day, that barren and desolate heath, inhabited but a short time before by the sea-gull and wild-fowl only, was swarming with life from one extremity to the other. Bayonets glistened—red coats and brass-mounted shakos gleamed in solid masses—the air was filled with the hum of busy men, mingling with the loud notes of command. At one o'clock, most of the regiments of the light division had moved off the beach over the hill and across the country towards a village. By this time the rain began to fall heavily, and the wind rose so as to send a little surf on the beach. Generals might be seen sitting on powder-barrels, waiting the arrival of their horses, or retiring gloomily within the folds of their mackintoshes. The beach was partitioned off by flag-staffs, with orders corresponding to that of each division in compartments, for landing each class of man and beast. The country people were somewhat scared at first; but before the day was over they brought down their cattle, fruits, and vegetables for sale, and were disposed to *be very friendly*.

Whilst the troops were disembarking, one of the reconnoitring steamers discovered a camp of about 6,000 men formed about a mile from the sea. The steamers opened fire with shell, knocking their tents right and left, and driving the soldiers in swarms out of the camp, which was destroyed after less than an hour's firing. On moving off from the beach to the interior, the Guards marched first, the Highlanders next, and took up their ground at about four miles off. It was heavy work, marching across a country where the barley and wheat had just been cut and left. It was quite dark when they reached their bivouac, with nothing but a little dry grass to attempt a fire, which, as soon as it was lighted, went out. The bivouac of the 15th September will, perhaps, never be forgotten by the 35,000 Englishmen, who had no tents to shelter them. The tents belonging to the different regiments had been landed, but finding that they could not be taken on by the army, they were re-embarked. The men were consequently exposed to cold and damp, after the excessive heat of the day; the consequence was, that cholera subsequently attacked them, with dysentery and diarrhoea, and the men who fell exhausted were left to die on the road-side. The French were not exposed to this disadvantage; their officers had not passed a day without their tents, nor were they obliged to carry their baggage and provision for three days. Every soldier carried with him part of a small tent which, when fastened to the other parts carried by his comrades, forms an effectual shelter from heat and cold. They were invented by the men themselves, and are generally adopted in the French army.

Towards night, the sky looked very dark and lowering; the wind rose and the rain fell. The showers increased in violence about midnight, and early in the morning the water fell in drenching torrents, which poured through the blankets and

greatcoats of the tentless soldier. Here were old generals, young lords and gentlemen, similarly exposed hour after hour to the violence of pitiless storms, with no bed but the reeking puddle, under their saturated blankets, or useless waterproof wrappers—no fire to cheer them. Sir George Brown slept under a cart tilted over. The Duke of Cambridge had some similar contrivance. In one respect the rain was of service, since it gave a temporary supply of water; but then it put a fire out of the question. The country was totally destitute of timber. During the night, it blew freshly from the west; a heavy sea tumbled into the beach, which much interfered with the landing of the cavalry and artillery on the following day.

The Russian lines of defence commenced at about 15 miles from Sebastopol. Three rivers flow or creep into the sea to the north of that fortress—the Belbek, the Katcha, and the Alma. On the heights above this latter river, the Russians had strongly fortified themselves on bold and precipitous heights of from 350 to 400 feet, the ascent to which was a sloping ground encumbered with artificial obstacles, and intersected with a defence. The heights were occupied with from 45,000 to 50,000 men, the flower of the Russian army in the Crimea, and defended by 100 guns. Their front was about ten miles in extent: the heights from the sea closely bordered the left bank of the river, terminating in a vast amphitheatre. It was soon determined by the allied commanders to attack the Russians in their stronghold, which must be considered as the boldest and most daring resolve perhaps ever recorded in the history of war. We will now notice an interesting fact in the march of the light division, perhaps unprecedented in the excitement of immediate battle. A request was made by the chaplain that a pause might be allowed for offering a prayer to God. Sir George Brown having consented, the regiments halted, and a three-sided

square was formed. The chaplain then offered a solemn but simple prayer to the God of hosts, that he would "protect the troops with his holy arm, and give them the victory over their enemies." He added, "From the quietness and attention exhibited in the ranks, doubtless this prayer was joined in by many who stood silent. The time spent in this solemn service was only eight minutes; there were evident tokens given of the spirit in which such an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, and reliance upon his mercy in a righteous cause, had been regarded by the men."

The British troops, without tents or covering, were exposed to the most inclement bivouac in complete darkness, during a whole night of heavy rain. They had nothing to cheer their spirits, and only prospects of undistinguishable dangers before them. They were at one time brought to such a point of dejection, as to distrust the success of the impending enterprise, which was undertaken in perfect ignorance of the resources at the enemy's command, or what might be expected. In this ignorance, the real difficulties of the expedition arose, to engage in so desperate a conflict within five days of landing.

On the 19th September, at three o'clock in the morning, the camp was raised by the "réveil," when 30,000 sleepers awoke into active life, and that busy scene began, which although in seeming confusion for several hours, was at the end of that time brought into the most perfect order, when the regiments paraded previous to their march as the morning broke, a thick haze covered the land, which was soon dispelled by a light breeze. Seven thousand Turkish infantry under Selim Pasha marched along by the sea-side; then came four of the French divisions, and the British extended about four miles to the right of the French left wing. At nine o'clock, the whole army marched in this magnificent order;

and column after column rent the air, as Lord Raglan, accompanied by a very large staff, and Marshal St. Arnaud, with a number of distinguished officers, rode along the front of the lines. The order of march was by double columns of companies, the artillery on the right of their respective divisions. The spectacle presented from the heights was of the most splendid description. The whole army might be seen advancing as at a review; close in the rear of the columns came the trains of horses carrying the reserve ammunition, the forage animals, the arabas with sick men and commissariat stores, and droves of oxen, sheep, &c. There was a good road along the plain—everywhere the ground was smooth, grassy, and totally unenclosed. Perfect silence reigned in the vast solitudes around—no inhabitants, nor any sign of habitations. No movement was visible in the Russian camp, and some believed that their strong position had been abandoned; but soon the sun shone upon their glittering bayonets; then dark squares were seen formed behind their principal battery—cavalry and infantry gathered on the heights—a few Cossacks galloped about, whilst others sat motionless on their horses, watching the movements of the allied forces. The day was warm, and after the march of an hour, a halt took place for fifty minutes, for refreshing the troops, who presented a “splendid appearance as they descended from the ridges rank after rank—the sun playing over forests of glittering steel, as onward they pressed, wave after wave—huge billows of armed men.” At about eight miles from their camp a small stream runs past, which was eagerly run to by the thirsty soldiers, and both men and horses were refreshed by it.

After a short halt, the army pushed on again, when many sick men fell out, and were carried to the rear; when litter after litter was borne past to the carts of the poor soldiers who had dropped from

illness or fatigue. The rumble of artillery and the tramp of cavalry accompanied their progress. The Russians were in front, and aware of the march of their enemy. They were first discovered on the top of a hill, when a wide plain was visible, where masses of cavalry could be seen moving about. A hundred horsemen, the advanced guard of the cavalry, were seen to issue from the village gardens on the banks of the Alma, and to deploy on the open ground. Two batteries of six guns, supported by two regiments of Cossacks, about 2,000 in number, formed and opened fire as the British divisions came in sight. Their attack was soon returned with great spirit by Captain Maude's troop of horse artillery. The enemy then retired, and not being pursued, fell back in good order, and crossing the Alma, regained the Russian army. On the hill side, towards the river, they were seen in dark masses of men and glittering steel. This narrow stream, now so famous for the deeds of arms done on its banks, had worn its bed through an undulating steppe, leaving an eminence between two and three hundred feet high. These precipitous cliffs opened about two miles from the sea into a spacious amphitheatre, intersected by deep ravines and narrow ridges. Upon the eastern slope of this amphitheatre an earth battery had been constructed, containing heavy artillery; another field-battery of 12 guns was placed higher up on the slope, and between it and the crest of the hill, was placed the Russian army. Such was the position chosen by Prince Menschikoff to arrest the progress of the allied troops. On the heights, one or two tents were seen, and bodies of cavalry and artillery were scattered over the surface, on the summits of the ridges overhanging the Alma, when orders were given to halt and bivouac for the night. The night passed quietly, though some men who had straggled on the march had some difficulty to find their regiments. The English lay without cover,

with some few exceptions for generals, their staff, and the hospitals. The knapsacks also remained on board ship, the articles judged most necessary having been selected from them, and carried packed in the great coats and blankets. The men set to work, gathering weeds for fuel; casks were broken up for that purpose, and aided by nettles and long grass, the watch-fires were at length established. The night was cold and damp—the fires were poor and flashy—scarcely serving to warm the rations, and great privations were felt after a march of ten hours; but the regiments were soon wrapped up in their cloaks and blankets, and found that repose which the day's exertion secured to them.

On the memorable 20th of September, at day-break, the whole of the British force was under arms, when the watch-fires lighted up the lines of their camp as though it were a great town; the bugles and drums first broke the stillness, and the hum of thousands of voices rose from the ranks. It was soon discovered that the Russians had retired from the heights, and had left their camp-fires burning. The troops lay on their arms for about an hour, whilst the generals were arranging the order for advance. The weather was superb, and the heat of the sun was tempered by the sea-breeze. Lord Raglan had made his dispositions the previous evening with the generals of division, and had gone from colonel to colonel of each regiment under their command, giving them instructions respecting the arrangement of the men in the coming struggle. Early in the morning the troops were ordered to get in readiness, and at half-past six they were in motion, the French and Turks composing the right wing, and the British the left, extending for four or five miles into the country; the fleets were under weigh, their tops and rigging being filled with officers and men during the engagement, when with a good glass the whole of it was visible even to details. The position that the

## 214 GALLANT ADVANCE OF THE FRENCH COLUMNS.

Russians occupied was magnificent. The Heights of St. John were lined with 60 pieces of artillery, and with from 40,000 to 50,000 of their best troops. It is said that their generals calculated upon holding their position for three weeks, and that Lord Raglan allowed himself three days for its capture, whereas it was taken in about three hours. A thick smoke rising from among the trees showed that the village of Boulouk had been fired by the Cossacks; this village was about 20 miles from Sebastopol. The allies had gained the summit of an easy elevation, from which the ground sloped gradually to an extended plain, at the foot of which were the village and the river Alma; beyond them arose the heights, abrupt and precipitous, for about two miles distance from the sea, and extending far inland. At one o'clock the first shots were exchanged. As the Chasseurs advanced, they found ambuscades in each ravine, and the firing hot and strong, when one poor fellow after another was stretched on the grass. By the time the top was gained, a body of retiring Russians went into the redoubt, from the walls of which they dealt great destruction upon the French troops below. So early as six o'clock in the morning, Marshal St. Arnaud caused the division of General Bosquet to make a movement on the right, which outflanked the Russian position towards the sea, and turned some of their batteries.

It was near one o'clock before General Bosquet could lead his columns along the shore to commence that terrible struggle which was to decide the fate of the Allied Armies—to attack an enemy superior in numbers, posted on lofty heights, the precipitous cliffs bristling with cannon exceeding in weight those of the Allies, their position so carefully chosen, and the range of their guns so accurately fixed by the Russian engineers as to make the most deadly sweeps of their opposing enemies. Up these steep slopes the guns of the Allies must be dragged to meet the



Russians; the banks of the river, which were steep, were lined with riflemen, concealed partly by the brushwood and partly in the gardens of the villages, who poured an incessant fire into the ranks of the Allies. The wooden bridge over the Alma had been partly destroyed, but in most places the river was fordable. The order of attack being agreed upon by the allied commanders, a regiment of Zouaves was the first to push through the brushwood, and having gained the opposite side of the river, they ran, swarming like ants, up the precipitous face of the cliffs. Having reached the plateau they fell into line, when the Russians opened upon them a deadly fire of musketry and artillery. General Bosquet, with the remainder of his division, hastened to their support, and, fording the river, gained a path which led to the plateau. By extraordinary exertions, and by numerous relays of horses, the artillery was drawn up the precipitous heights, when they were rapidly brought to act against the enemy. The main body of the French army having gained the plateau, encountered the Russians in great force, who had collected round an artificial tumulus, upon which stood a high-built octagon tower. The French charged them with the bayonet, when the Russians gave way, and withdrew their battery of heavy guns.

During this time the British had remained stationary. Marshal St. Arnaud, seeing that the Russians were bringing fresh columns of infantry and heavy artillery against the French troops, sent the most urgent request to Lord Raglan to advance without delay; when orders were immediately given, and the British forces marched in contiguous double column, with a front of two divisions: General Evans's division on the right, while the light division, under General Brown, took the left. These divisions were respectively supported by General England's division, assisted by the Guards and Highlanders under the command of the Duke of

## 216 DESPERATE ENCOUNTER WITH THE RUSSIANS.

Cambridge. As the British advanced, the Russian batteries on the slope, which had hitherto remained concealed, opened upon them a most deadly fire, to which the British artillery responded, inflicting considerable loss upon the Russians. Lord Raglan plunged into the stream at the head of his staff, amid a shower of shot and shell, and gained untouched the opposite bank, near the extreme left of the French. The light division was the first to attack, and more than once the men had to lie down to take shelter for a moment from the heavy fire of the Russian batteries. They crossed the stream in disorder, and with unparalleled courage drove the enemy before them, in spite of the repeated volleys of grape, which mowed down their ranks as they made way to the cannon's mouth. Some actually leaped into the battery, but were soon compelled to abandon it, from the heavy fire which the Russians directed against them. The 23rd was literally mowed down as it scaled the rugged hill; no less than 13 officers and 200 men of that regiment alone fell, killed and wounded, before they reached the summit: and the losses of the 95th were almost equally severe. The splendid advance of the first division, consisting of the Guards and the Highlanders, under the Duke of Cambridge, effectually avenged their fallen comrades, who had sustained the first brunt of the action, and secured the position of the Russian intrenchment, which had been gained and again abandoned.

The second division, led by Sir De Lacy Evans, in the most dashing manner crossed the stream on the right; the 7th Fusiliers, led on by Colonel Yea, were swept down by fifties; the 55th, 30th, and 95th, led by Brigadier Pennefather, who was in the thickest of the fight cheering on his men, were again and again checked, but never drew back on their onward progress, which was marked by a fine roll of Minié musketry; and Brigadier Adams, with the 47th, 41st, and 49th, bravely charged up the hill, and

aided them in the battle. Sir George Brown, conspicuous on a grey horse, rode in front of his light division, urging them with voice and gesture. The 23rd, with eight officers killed and four wounded, were still rushing to the front, aided by the 19th, 33rd, 77th, and 88th, when down went Sir George in a cloud of dust in front of the battery. He was soon up again, and shouted, "23rd, I'm all right, be sure I'll remember this day," and led them on again; but in the shock produced by the fall of their chief the gallant regiment suffered terribly, while paralysed for a moment. Meantime, the Guards on the right, and the brigade of Highlanders, were storming the heights on the left. Their line was almost as regular as if formed in Hyde Park; suddenly a tornado of round and grape rushed through from a terrible battery, and a roar of musketry from behind thinned their front ranks by dozens. At this time an immense mass of Russian infantry was seen moving down towards the battery—they halted—it was the crisis of the day—sharp, angular, and solid, they looked as if they were cut out of the solid rock. Lord Raglan, seeing the difficulties of the situation, asked if it were possible to get a couple of guns to bear upon these masses; when Captain Dickson brought up two guns to fire on the Russian squares. After a few rounds the squares became broken, and the men fled over the hill, leaving behind them six or seven lines of dead, lying as close as possible to each other, marking the passage of the fearful messengers. The Duke encouraged his men by voice and example, worthy of his high command and of the royal race from which he comes.

The advance of the British is described to have been "resistless as the swell of the ocean, against a wall of fire and solid masses of infantry; to struggle on at one time overwhelmed by crushing volleys of grape and musketry; at another, disorganised by round shot, winning the ground from death at every

påce; to form tranquilly and readily when thrown into momentary disorder, and at last to nail victory to our colours by the never-failing British bayonet—this was accomplished. On the other hand, the French had to scale the sides of deep ravines, and to clamber up rocky steeps defended by swarms of sharpshooters. They had to gain a most difficult position with quickness and alacrity, delay would have been fatal; for without the French on the heights, on our right, we must have been driven across the Alma; and they would have been swept into the valley had the British failed in carrying the batteries. Their energetic movement, their flame-like rapid speed from crag to crag, their ceaseless fusilade of the deadly rifle, were all astonishing, and paralysed the enemy completely.” \*

The Alma, a little tortuous stream, widens its course as it proceeds towards the sea. Along the right or north bank, are a number of small Tartar houses, amidst little vineyards, surrounded with low walls of mud or stone about three feet high; the bridge, over which the post-road passes from Bauljanak to Sebastopol, runs along by the side of one of these hamlets; the bank recedes for a few yards at a moderate height above the stream, so as to form small ravines commanded by the heights above, of from 500 to 700 feet, assuming the form of cliffs when close to the sea. The Rifles got over the stream in such disorder, that they were wonderfully preserved in spite of the tremendous storm of shot that rattled over them. The colours of the 7th were lost for a time. Thrice did the enemy’s shot strike down the officers who carried them; but they were at length restored to the gallant colonel. They were torn in pieces with shot. The 23rd, encouraged by the example of their brigadier-general (Codrington), and headed by the gallant old Sir George Brown, whose noble brigade rushed up the steep, every mo-

\* The ‘Times’ Correspondent.

ment diminishing their numbers, and strewing the ground with their dead and dying. It was right in front of the battery, that the 23rd sustained their greatest losses. The 30th, 55th, and 95th left long lines of dead behind them; and just as they came to the battery, a shelf of lead passed through them like a sword—they were utterly broken up; it was necessary to retire, in order to reform them; and the Russians, seeing them retreat, leaped out of the embrasures and breastworks, and actually charged them down the hill with the bayonet. The shattered regiments formed again, and led on by their indefatigable general, Pennefather, drove the enemy like a flock of sheep up the hill to the shelter of their earthworks, and then sent them flying beyond the hill, pursued by remorseless volleys of minié balls, while Brigadier-General Codrington's noble brigade dealt the same vengeance on their opponents. The advance of the Guards is described as "grand in its calm order as any sight witnessed in the battle-field." The critical moment was at the advance of the first division; as they marched up the hill the lines of the black bearskins were barely wavering—they were nearly as straight as if on parade. While the Guards were running up they fell fast, and at last the Duke, anxious at the loss of one regiment, seemed inclined to retire his men, only for a moment, to reform; but was diverted from doing so by the advice of Sir Colin Campbell. "Highlanders," said Sir Colin Campbell, before they came to the charge, "don't pull a trigger till you are within a yard of the Russians." They charged, and well obeyed their chief-tain's voice. Sir Colin had his horse shot under him, but his men took the battery at a bound. The Russians rushed out, and left multitudes of dead behind them; the Guards had stormed the right of the battery, and were the first to enter it.

When the Russians saw their heights invaded, and the shattered bands of their assailants leaping up with

a cheer to the batteries, they broke and fled; but they fought well, since they carried off their guns. - The enemy fled to the south-east, leaving three generals, 700 prisoners, and 4000 wounded behind them. The Russian retreat was covered by their cavalry, or many more guns might have been captured. A terrible scene of confusion ensued amongst the Russian soldiers when taking their flight. The flying masses threw away their arms, their knapsacks, and even their boots; the British artillery followed, pouring in a murderous fire upon those within their range; but they could not be pursued far from the want of cavalry, and from the exhausted state of the men at that late hour of the day. The Russian loss is supposed to have been little less than 8000; the number of prisoners was small; amongst them were two general officers, Majors-General Karganoff and Spikanoff, who fell into the hands of the English, the former very badly wounded. The Russians carried off all their guns. The loss of the Allies amounted to—British, 362 killed, 1640 wounded; French, 257 killed, 1200 wounded; the Turks lost 230 men.

Lord Raglan gave his orders with consummate coolness and judgment. He dashed across the stream, at the head of his staff, as if riding to a “fresh burst of hounds.” Marshal St. Arnaud, in his despatch to the Emperor, said of the British commander—“The bravery of Lord Raglan rivals that of antiquity: amidst an incessant shower of balls and bullets his coolness never forsook him.” Of the French commander, Lord Raglan wrote, in his despatch to the Duke of Newcastle—“I will not attempt to describe the movements of the French army, this will be done by an abler hand, but it is due to them to say that their operations were eminently successful; and that under the guidance of their distinguished commander, Marshal St. Arnaud, they manifested the utmost gallantry, the utmost ardour for the attack, and the high military

qualities for which they are so famed." The whole Russian force engaged was, according to the statement of one of their generals, 33,000 infantry, 5000 cavalry, about 2000 marines, and 100 guns. The Allied Armies numbered about 50,000 men, though less than 30,000 took part in the battle. The British troops performed their perilous duties to the admiration of the Allies, with that calmness, endurance, and courage which they have ever so eminently displayed ; whilst the undaunted activity of the French troops fully maintained their great military renown. General Canrobert was wounded. Thus ended the celebrated battle of the Alma, where, for the first time, the British and French troops had been brought face to face with those of Russia—where they learnt the inferiority of the enemy's infantry and cavalry, and the superiority of their artillery, which was admirably served. With this great success of the Allies, it was expected that Sebastopol would immediately be taken ; hence the credulity of Europe in believing the hoax of the Tartar.

In the great battle of the Alma 120,000 men were engaged, with 200 pieces of cannon ; and when we recollect that scarcely any of the British troops had seen a shot fired, and that, with the exception of Lord Raglan and a few other officers, had ever seen a battle, while the enemy was planted on a commanding position, strongly fortified, it must be admitted that this action reflects the highest honour on the indomitable courage and perseverance of all that were engaged in it. The oldest generals declared that in no battle hitherto fought have so many dead been heaped up on one spot, which was about a square mile, comprising the earthwork, where the greater part of the English were killed and wounded—at least five Russians to one Englishman ; they were scarcely able to walk for the bodies. Here were seen the most frightful mutilations which the human body can suffer, amidst the groans of the wounded

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and the packs of helmets and guns, clothes scattered over the ground,—all formed a scene that can never be described. This most brilliant affair lasted only three hours and a half; the British troops were scarcely engaged for more than two hours; the third and fourth divisions were not in action at all: the army remained for two days on the field. There was a great deficiency of medical attendants to wait upon the wounded; some of whom, even for two days after the battle, had not been attended to. They were bundled on board ship some 600 or 700 at a time, without any medical attendant whatever to take them in charge. The number of lives that have been sacrificed from the want of proper medical arrangement has been very considerable.

It is an interesting fact to notice of this great battle, but not for the first time in history, that the soldiers of England and France trod the bloody track of victory side by side, and mingled the banners of their respective empires in one trophy. Then did the soldiers of the British and French armies in the East rush into the enemy's fire with that dauntless energy and firmness of veteran troops, anxious to share the honour of this fiercely-contested day. It may be truly said that the French won their fair half of the victory; and such was the cordiality of the English troops towards their Allies, that whenever they saw a Frenchman, they saluted him with hearty cheering: not the least result of this memorable day is the cordial respect established between the French and English, each strove for the other's approbation, and knew how to win it. The positions of the two armies, though contiguous were distinct, and although their operations were combined and directed according to one plan throughout the expedition, neither army had ever been under the command of any chief but its own; the union of the forces rested upon the perfect concord and mutual respect of the two commanders-in-chief, neither of which was subordinate



to the other. We have shown that the French were the first to plant their colours in the Crimea; the emulation which existed between the armies of England and France was of so enthusiastic a character as to render them an irresistible host. Marshal St. Arnaud pitched his tent on the same spot which had been occupied by that of Prince Menschikoff in the morning. The Russian Generalissimo narrowly escaped being captured; he owed his safety to the swiftness of his horse. The Russians are said to have fought well; their dead had on their breasts a small metal cross, and a brass plate bearing upon it the effigy of St. Nicholas. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the British officers towards the Russian wounded, which was in some instances responded to in the most ferocious way. One man fired at and deliberately wounded an artilleryman, who had just given him some water to quench his thirst; an indignant Guardsman immediately knocked his brains out. Another instance is mentioned of a Russian soldier, severely wounded, soliciting of a marine some water to drink, and whilst he was in the act of turning him round, the ungrateful wretch shot him dead; the marine's comrade instantly revenged it by killing him at once. But the most melancholy instance of the sort was that of Sir A. Young, who was shot by a wounded Russian, to whom he was about to offer a cup of water. Of the Russians wounded, about 700 were placed in a vineyard near the river, and provisions were sent them by the English general, even when our men were dying from the want of proper attention.

On the eve of the battle the troops bivouaced on the field, not far from the scene of their triumph. Cavalry videttes scoured the country, and fell back at nightfall. The sick and wounded of the British army were embarked and sent off as soon as possible to Constantinople: the large barrack at Scutari was *set aside for the hospital*, capable of containing nearly

4,000 sick, and in a few days no less than 2,200 were landed there in a most miserable condition. It is described as an affecting sight, to see the long train of wounded borne from the steamers to the hospital from dawn to evening; the labour was incessant, and the officers and medical men were completely worn out with fatigue. In many the marks of approaching death were set, and sometimes their march to the hospital was arrested by death; some of the unfortunates had been brought four miles from the place where they had fallen, to the beach, and then transported 400 miles by sea. The barrack now became a vast hospital, and everywhere the eye encountered fever-stricken spectres, creeping along by the sides of the walls, or crouching in corners with listless countenances, too weak to take notice of the passing scene. The want of medical aid to the wounded soldiers on board the boats, that conveyed them to Scutari, was most distressingly exemplified on board the 'Vulcan,' where there were 300 wounded and 170 cholera patients, attended only by five surgeons. The scene is described as terrible; the wounded seized the surgeons as they passed on their way through the heap of dead and dying, but the surgeons shook them off: numbers of the sick and wounded arrived at Scutari without having been touched by a surgeon since they fell pierced by Russian bullets on the slopes of the Alma. On board the 'Colombo' matters were still worse; she carried in all 450 wounded soldiers and officers, and 104 Russian prisoners. To supply the wants of this mass of misery were four medical men only: the ship was literally covered with prostrate forms, so as to be almost unmanageable; the foetid animal matter caused such a stench that the officers and crew were nearly overcome; the captain fell ill from the five days' misery; thirty men died during the voyage; the vessel was quite putrid. Two transports were towed by the 'Colombo,' and their condition was

nearly as bad; she was twelve hours longer on her voyage than usual. But what was more extraordinary, there were no dressers or nurses found at the hospital at Scutari, or even lint to make bandages for the wounded, nor any preparations made for the commonest surgical operations. Not only were the men kept sometimes for a week without the aid of a medical man to dress their wounds—not only were they left to expire in agony—they had not even the common appliances of workhouse sick-wards; so that men of the British army perished through the neglect of the medical staff, or rather from its inefficiency.

Late on the night of the 22nd, orders were sent round the divisions to be prepared for marching, and early the next morning the army left the blood-stained heights of the Alma. Soon after dawn the French assembled all their drums and trumpets on the tops of the highest hills, and a wild flourish and roll repeated again and again, broken by peals of sound from the horns of the infantry, celebrated their meeting ere they departed. It was spirit-stirring and thrilling music, and its effect, as it swelled through the darkness of early dawn over the valley, was most imposing. The watch-fires were still burning languidly, as the sleepers aroused themselves, all wet with dew, and prepared to leave the scene of their triumphs. The fogs of the night crept slowly up the hill sides, and hung in uncertain folds around their summits, revealing here and there the gathering columns of the British regiments in dark patches on the declivities, or showing the deep-black looking squares of the French battalions already in motion towards the south, dimly seen in the distance. The fleet was moving along slowly near the coast, the long lines of smoke trailing back on their wake; the grey mists on the plain seemed settled down *upon it without life or motion, from which a man*

would sometimes raise himself, and then lie down again. Nearly sixty long hours had the Russian wounded passed in agony on the ground, with but little hope of help or succour. Seven hundred and fifty of these wretched sufferers still lay on the ground. Their wounds had been bound and dressed: they could not be taken away, and the army was about to depart; Lord Raglan sent into the Tartar village, up the valley, into which the inhabitants were just returning, and having procured the attendance of the head men, he proceeded to explain to them, that the wounded Russians would be confided to their charge, and that they were to feed and maintain them, and when they were well, they were to be let go their ways. And now we have a noble instance of the philanthropy of an English medical man, which deserves recording to the end of time. Dr. James Thompson, assistant surgeon of the 44th regiment, volunteered his services, with that of his servant, to remain on the field and to attend to this enormous mass of severely-wounded men: the task was in many respects a most dangerous one, since, as we have already seen, the patients themselves were not to be trusted. The dead were festering in heaps around the sick and dying; these two men had frequently to bury a horrible mass of carcasses and fragments before they could get at the poor wounded wretches beneath.

In this way they dragged out and buried, with their own hands, as many as 200 corpses. At length her Majesty's ships 'Albion,' 'Vesuvius,' and the screw transport 'Avon,' arrived. The whole of the crew of the 'Albion' landed, and removed the wounded on board the 'Avon,' whilst the 'Vesuvius' guarded the shore. In the midst of this humane occupation, a Russian force of from 4,000 to 5,000 men approached the place, and the sailors were obliged to hasten on board, as it was beyond the range of the ship's guns; however, they succeeded in

getting 340 wounded Russians on board the 'Avon,' under the charge of their heroic preservers, Dr. Thompson and his servant. About forty were left behind, and many of these poor fellows who had seemingly been unable to walk, endeavoured with all their might to hobble after their more fortunate comrades. The next day, the 'Avon' proceeded with her cargo to Odessa, and these two philanthropists happily arrived at the British camp at Balaklava, where Dr. Thompson died of cholera on the 5th of October. The loss of another medical man was very much felt in the camp, Dr. Mackenzie, who had given up a lucrative practice for the purpose of devoting his services, unpaid, to the relief of his countrymen, during an anxious campaign, and for the purpose of studying gun-shot wounds; he was with the Highlanders foremost in the field. Lord Raglan acknowledged his services, and after the battle, the brigade, with one voice, asked permission to give him three cheers as he came up the hill. He fell a victim to his exertions to relieve the suffering of others, and died of cholera at Belbek after a few hours' illness: his loss was more sincerely felt than that of any man who fell at the battle of the Alma.

The tents of Lord Raglan's head-quarters were pitched on a flat close to the bridge, and to the left of the hill on which were lying the bulk of the killed and wounded. The army on the following day, were occupied in bringing in prisoners, and burying the dead. The wounded who were able to bear the journey, were sent off in arabas to the shore about three miles distant, and put on board the steamers and transports immediately for Constantinople. The Turkish troops were very busy pillaging the dead, and where they found any wounded, they bayoneted them immediately, crying out 'Sinope!' The French wounded were much better attended to than the British: those laid out for amputation were removed

to a farm-yard near the field of battle, where they were supplied with water by a Catholic priest, attached to one of the French regiments. What gave a melancholy interest to the battle of the Alma was the death of Marshal St. Arnaud; his spirited and graphic dispatch to the French Emperor had scarcely been published, when his death was announced at Paris, just as he had reached the highest pinnacle of success. His remains were brought to Constantinople in the 'Berthelot' steamer on the 30th September, and were to be conveyed to France by the same vessel. General Canrobert succeeded to the command of the French troops.—The Russians rapidly retreated; they have always shown great aptitude to fight in masses, and on the eve of the battle, they arrived near the Katcha in a fatigued and dispirited condition, and took up their position in the villages and the neighbouring houses. At 12 o'clock the same night, there was an alarm that the French and English were coming up; they ran pell mell, snatching up whatever they could, and retired in disorder across the country, a part of the army went towards Bakshiserai—they were said to amount to 20,000 men, and to have been under the command of Prince Menschikoff in person—the rest proceeded direct to Sebastopol, and entered the city in great disorder; the evidence of their flight was found along the road—linstocks, cutlasses, shakos, and caps lined the way.

The night after the battle was awfully dark and cold; from the smell from the dead bodies, and the noise of the wounded horses, the army passed a wretched time of it on the bare ground. The 21st and 22nd were occupied in attending to the wounded and burying the dead, when the British and French soldiers vied with each other in the offices of humanity to the sufferers on the field; the Russian wounded came in for an equal share of that humanity.

On Saturday, the 23rd September, the army

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marched towards the Katcha river, a distance of eight miles only; their advance was at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles per hour, and at three o'clock the beautiful valley of the Katcha came in sight. The opposite side was formed by a ridge of hills, covered with verdure and with small forests of shrubs, through which here and there, shone the white walls of villas and snug cottages. Lord Raglan, with his staff, rode on considerably in advance, and a small party of Cossacks might have easily cut off the Commander-in-Chief, his Quartermaster-General, &c., but no enemy showed themselves. The Katcha is a small and rapid rivulet, with banks like those of the Alma. Its whole course was marked by neat white cottages. The valley contained the most beautiful vineyards and gardens, amid which their habitations were placed, but no inhabitants showed themselves. As described by an eye-witness: "The first villa we came to was the residence of a physician or country surgeon; it had been ruthlessly destroyed by the Cossacks. A verandah, laden with clematis, roses, and honeysuckle in front, was filled with broken music-stools, work-tables, and lounging-chairs. All the glass of the windows was smashed. Everything around bespoke the hasty flight of the inmates. Two or three side saddles were lying on the grass, outside the hall-door; a parasol lay near them; then came a Tartar saddle, and a huge whip. The wine-casks were broken, and the contents spilt; the barley and corn of the granary were thrown about all over the ground; broken china and glass of fine manufacture, were scattered over the pavement outside the kitchen, and, amid all the ruin and desolation of the place, a cat sat blandly at the threshold, winking her eyes in the sunshine on the new comers. Mirrors in fragments, were lying on the floors. The beds had been ripped open, and the feathers scattered about the rooms; chairs, sofas, *fauteuils*, book-cases, picture-frames, images of saints,

women's needlework, chests of drawers, shoes, boots, books, bottles, physic-jars, all smashed or torn in pieces, lay in heaps in every room; even the walls and doors were hacked with swords. The physician's account-book lay open, and on a table beside it lay a volume of Madame de Sevigné's Letters in French, and a pharmacopœia in Russian."

The course of the army lay eastward over the bridge, towards the little village of Eskel, on the left bank. The first building on the road was the Imperial post-house, with its sign-post of the double-headed eagle, and an illegible inscription. The usual wooden direction-post, with a bluish ribbon painted around it, informed them that they were on the way to Sebastopol, distant about ten miles. The post-house was abandoned, and destitute of the smallest particle of furniture. About an hour after the army arrived at Eskel, a number of Tartars showed themselves, eyeing the new occupants with sly curiosity. Lord Raglan occupied a handsome villa for the night, but all the furniture had been destroyed by the Cossacks. At the top of the valley, to the east, was a handsome Greek church, which blazed with numerous shrines, gilt-work, and handsome pictures. Before the main body of troops entered the ravine, the two priests in charge of the church surrendered themselves, and requested protection, not for themselves, but for the sacred object of their charge. As a matter of course the petition was granted, the keys of the church were given up to Lord Raglan, and a guard mounted round the building, which no man was allowed to approach. The priests were sent into their own houses, and a sentry left at the church, to prevent intrusion. The villages on the way were chiefly deserted, but the country abounded with vineyards and orchards, bearing the most delicious grapes, peaches, apples, pears, &c. Orders were given that the soldiers should eat no fruit, but it was impossible to pre-



vent their destroying the vineyards, and eating the fruit, in a valley so tempting as that of the Katcha to thirsty and hungry men, and they feasted most abundantly on them. Nothing was taken from the village, but such things as hay, barley, fowls, &c., such sundries being absolutely necessary for man and horse.

The army moved from Eskel on the following day, not until noon, at the rate of two miles and a quarter an hour. The day was very hot, and the troops were much fatigued, standing under arms, or lying down in regiments, under the sun. The few tents at head-quarters were struck at seven o'clock, but a long delay took place in marching. The country towards the Belbek is hilly for a couple of miles. After leaving the Katcha river the army made a turn to the left towards the village of Belbek. They reached their bivouac at half-past eight o'clock, having been under arms more than fourteen hours. The night was extremely raw and cold, and the men suffered much. Near the Belbek was the château of a Russian nobleman, Count Alexis, which had been partially plundered. Here Lord Raglan established his head-quarters for the night, which is thus described by an eye-witness:—"The château was placed in a beautiful and extensive garden, laid out with the most exquisite taste, abounding with fruits and flowers of all descriptions. The rooms were spacious and lofty, enriched with gold mouldings, and the floor inlaid with coloured woods. I never saw such a scene of wreck and desolation as the rooms presented, the superb carved rose-wood furniture lying about in heaps, mixed with books, vases, costly china, bronzes, pictures, and shattered mirrors. Over these the soldiers were triumphing recklessly, searching for such articles as could be of use to them during the march. In another room was a handsome, well-selected library, containing 4,000 volumes. The books, which were principally French, English, and

Italian, were scattered about in all directions, and ruthlessly laid hold of by the soldiers. A small elegantly-furnished apartment had evidently been made a sitting-room for young ladies. There was a large tambour-frame, with some rich embroidered work upon it unfinished, while patterns, crochet, knitting-work, and fashion-books lay close by. There was an album on the table, filled with water-colour drawings and sketches, and in the corner a handsome piano, guitar, and volumes of books. I was quite disgusted with the way in which both French and English soldiers were ransacking everything, though it was amusing to see the selections which they made, loading themselves with tables, gilt curtain-poles, handsomely bound volumes of music, and staggering along under the weight of large gilt arm-chairs." The gunners got hold of the baggage of some general officer and his staff, for they were seen laden with embroidered hussar jackets, pelisses, and garments of various sorts. They also got a quantity of jewellery and watches, and some more lucky than the rest found the General's luncheon-basket, and feasted on wild boar, washed down with champagne.

This part of the Crimea is described as a beautiful country, abounding with vineyards and orchards; every description of fruit was then ripe—grapes, peaches, pears, and vegetables in abundance. Many of the soldiers killed themselves by eating of these fruits too freely; but in some other parts the country was bare, and singularly destitute of water, the troops being obliged to march sometimes for thirty-six hours without any other supply than from a few scanty wells, the water of which was brackish. As the army approached the towns and villages the inhabitants deserted them, and when they came to a halt the men dispersed in search of plunder, and soon appeared laden with tables, chairs, *sofas*, pier-glasses, geese, ducks, fruits, vegetables, &c. The men lay on beautiful feather-beds and

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costly sofas in the open air, with mahogany tables to dine off. The scene presented was so extremely ludicrous that it excited laughter even among those who disapproved of such reckless and extravagant devastation; even houses were wantonly destroyed. Lord Raglan was determined to repress plunder, and to give protection to such inhabitants as chose to remain in the towns or to return to them. The troops continued to suffer dreadfully from cholera on their march. Where the men were exposed to sudden changes of climate an increased mortality followed. The exposure to wind and rain caused the deaths of many; and the worst feature of the malady was that it gave no premonitory warning, and men, healthy and unsuspecting, were carried off after a few hours' illness.

The march of the army was so disposed as to be ready for attack or defence at any moment. It was formed in lines of brigades, each brigade in mass of columns, with artillery in the intervals between divisions, and the cavalry on the left. The front was covered by the rifles in skirmishing order. The "coup d'œil" of the whole cavalcade is described as most imposing; but there were periods when they seemed to get into inextricable confusion in narrow roads or woody districts: such must inevitably be sometimes the case with an army of 60,000 men, and no small amount of baggage, gathered together upon one road. Artillery blocking up the way; arabas breaking down under their accumulated loads; riders seeking their commanders, until the roads become a long line of excited soldiers, who seem to think that progress is to be accelerated by noise, which only increases the confusion. The beautiful valleys soon became soiled with dust, losing their verdant hue, and havoc and destruction followed in the wake of this immense force. At about six miles from the river Belbek, French and English cavalry, artillery, and *infantry* formed such confusion as for a long time to

impede progress. This was on Sunday the 24th, when the men took up a position for the night about a mile and a half in advance of the Belbek. On the 25th, they turned out at four o'clock in the morning; they were under arms and ready to move at seven, but it was ten o'clock before the army moved, when a "reconnoissance" was made towards the Inkermann lights, with the view of finding a crossing practicable for the army. Colonel Alexander could only find a causeway over a morass and a bridge over the river, with a force on the opposite side.

Before we proceed with the allied army on their march, it will be well to notice what were the intended movements of their commanders after the battle of the Alma, which had been to invest and attack the fort of Sebastopol, on the north of the town; its dock-yards, arsenals, and storehouses being slanting on the southern side of a deep inlet, whilst on the opposite side there were only large stone forts and batteries which defend the entrance and interior of the harbour. These massive edifices were erected upon the water's edge; behind them the ground rises into a ridge of no great height, where the Russians had recently constructed a considerable fort, commanding both the town and the Belbek. On the cliff, not far to the north of Fort Constantine, was the Telegraph battery, and beyond it was a square stone tower surrounded by earthworks, afterwards named by the seamen of the fleet, "the Wasp battery," on account of its mischievous powers; since it caused more injury to their vessels, and more embarrassed their movements than any other battery of the enemy. The allied commanders now determined to abandon the line of road which they originally intended taking, which was exposed to the attack of the enemy in their rear; they could not protect it; and the distance of the fleet from the *lines* of the besieging armies was so great, and the *coast* so exposed, that there would have been great

difficulty in disembarking their stores and siege-guns; whereas, on the other side, there were comparatively safe harbour and anchorage to be found in the deep inlet of Balaklava, on the southern coast, and in those bays which indent Cape Chersonese. Moreover, it was calculated that the Russians would not be prepared to receive an enemy in that quarter, and that it might be possible to take the town by a *coup de main*. Then was determined upon one of the boldest flank movements perhaps ever performed in an enemy's territory, through an unknown country, whilst struggling on the way through wood and briar. The whole country between the Belbek and the Tchernaya, which runs into Sebastopol, is covered with one uninterrupted jungle or forest, intersected by two roads leading to Sebastopol, and another so narrow, that it would have taken many days for an army to advance upon. The guides led the troops in a southerly direction; and so thick was the wood that the men could hardly see each other, which occasioned, for an hour, an apparently inextricable confusion. This forest march is described as one of the most harassing possible for the troops; they were dreadfully knocked up, since the day was very hot. Their water was soon consumed; their clothes were torn to rags, and for three hours they had to struggle on in this way, when at four o'clock they emerged into a lane which led to the high road from Sebastopol and Balaklava to Simpheropol. The road was blocked up with baggage-waggons belonging to a division of the enemy on their way out of Sebastopol.

Lord Raglan and his escort coming suddenly upon them occasioned a most unexpected rencontre of both parties. He was riding near the head of the column at the time, and gave his orders with that calm and prompt decision for which he has been so long proverbial, desiring Captain Maude to remain and watch the enemy; then mixing with his staff he gave the

necessary orders to the remainder of the forces. Lord Cardigan, with the hussars, was ordered to support the artillery. Captain Maude asked and obtained permission to attack the rear of the Russian column; he galloped on and made great havoc amongst them, taking some prisoners. The enemy, consisting of 15,000 men, little thought that they were attacked by a cavalry escort of 40 men, a few rifles, and some artillery only, to oppose them in their hasty retreat; they left behind them waggons with flour, powder, cartridges, camp equipments, accoutrements, barrels, and articles of every description strewn along the road for a distance of three miles, more like the result of a battle than anything else. The soldiers had great fun rifling the baggage-waggons, which they had liberty to do, and many of them got some rich prizes. The road was covered with goods of every description: some very rich and new uniforms were lying about; they were soon cut up into patches and used by the soldiers to mend their clothes with; some valuable ornaments and jewellery were taken, as well as the military chest, containing it was said, the value of 3,000*l*. The carriage of Prince Menschikoff fell into the hands of the captors; in it was found the grand order of a Prince of the Russian empire: the carriage was consigned over to Captain Peel; a quantity of champagne was found among the baggage, which served to cheer the captors during their cold bivouac of that night; handsome hussar jackets, ornamented with silver, that had never been worn, made of fine blue cloth, and handsome cloaks lined with fur, formed a part of the booty.

This plunder put the soldiers in such good humour that they marched on the whole day in excellent spirits, leaving Sebastopol on the right, till they reached the little hamlet of Traktoi on the Black river. As the baggage was separated from the bulk of the army by the distance of some miles, Lord

Raglan was content to put up at a miserable little lodging for the night, whilst his staff slept on the ground in a ditch outside. It was ten o'clock before the army arrived at their bivouac, and the men were so knocked up that they threw themselves on the ground and went to sleep at once without waiting to eat or drink what little they had.

On Sunday, September 26, the army marched to Balaklava. At eight o'clock they halted at about four miles from the town, at the entrance of the pass of Inkermann, a deep ravine, about a mile in breadth, formed by the stream of the Tchernaya, parallel with which was the aqueduct which supplied Sebastopol with water, through a tunnel of freestone 300 yards in length. The rocks rising abruptly over the ravine on the western side, towards the sea, the cliffs close up over the narrow channel which leads to the haven, so that it is quite invisible. On the south-east of a poor village which seems to struggle for existence, between the base of the rocks and the margin of the sea were some remains of a Genoese fort, built 200 feet above the level of the sea, its batteries, towers, and walls all crumbling into decay. The town of Balaklava was approached in this direction through a narrow defile, leading from the more open country about Traktoi. Through this formidable pass a few resolute men posted in it might have occasioned great trouble even to a large army, but they were allowed to pass unmolested.

The staff moved first on the town, and were proceeding to enter it, when, to their great surprise, from the old forts above came four spots of smoke in rapid succession, and down came four shells on the ground close to them; it was then perceived that on a small piece of level ground outside one of the towers of the ruins, the Russians had a body of men, who seemed resolved on a hopeless defence. The shell *was repeated*; but by this time the 'Agamemnon'

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outside the rocks was heard busily sending her shot against the fort; the rifles also advanced with some of the light division, and opened fire within 700 yards with their rifles; after a few harmless rounds, the fort was summoned, when they hung out a flag of truce and surrendered. The commandant had only 60 men under him, and they were all made prisoners. On being asked why he fired from a position which he must have known to be untenable, he replied, that he did so in order that he might be summoned to surrender. The guns which projected the shells were small brass mortars. Lord Raglan entered the town on Wednesday 27th September at two o'clock in the day; as he came towards the principal streets, the inhabitants came out to meet him, laden with fruits and flowers, some of them with loaves of bread cut up in pieces, and placed on dishes covered with salt, in token of good will and submission. He assured them of his protection, and rode down to the beach; the head-quarters were established in the high street; the Duke of Cambridge occupied a house outside the town; the best houses were occupied by the Allied generals, and some of the largest houses were converted into hospitals.

Balaklava creek is one of the most curious anchorages imaginable. The shore of the Crimea rises gradually eastward until it reaches the height of nearly 1,000 feet perpendicular; the entrance of the harbour is very narrow, and dominated by cliffs some 500 feet high; a little channel winds to the widest part of the harbour, deep enough to contain the largest man-of-war; a very respectable quay runs along one side. It should have been noticed that soon after the army emerged from their difficult march through the wood on the 25th, Lieutenant Maxse of the 'Agamemnon' volunteered his services to retrace his way to convey despatches to Sir Edmund Lyons to appear off the harbour as soon as



the troops appeared on the heights ; he succeeded in reaching the British admiral, so that the 'Agamemnon' came into the harbour precisely at this juncture, thereby enabling the fleet to co-operate with the army in every way possible. Sir Edmund Lyons immediately went on shore to visit the commander-in-chief, when their mutual operations were concerted together. Some forty or fifty transports, ships, and steamers were soon safely moored in this little harbour, which is only thirty yards wide, formed by a deep inlet or indenture of the rocks, and so protected from every wind, that it may be regarded as a dock for the purposes of disembarcation. The Genoese founded the little town of about a hundred houses, at the bottom of the haven, and built a fort on the adjoining cliff. In another village, near to Bala-klava the French established themselves ; the inhabitants had at first deserted it, but gradually returned.

The cholera was still making dreadful ravages amongst the troops. Scarcely an officer was in full possession of health ; but death and sickness were supported without complaint ; hospitals were immediately established, numbers were dying daily, and at every interval were to be seen corpses waiting for interment. Fatigue, exposure at night, and the men eating too freely of the grapes and other fruits, were the alleged causes of the increased mortality.

Before we proceed in detailing further the proceedings of the British army, we will shortly revert to those of our brave allies the French, whose march, which followed that of the British, was still more prolonged and fatiguing. They did not reach the Tchernaya river till the 26th, having passed the previous night at Mackenzie's farm, where the British had previously halted. Here they were without a drop of water in the camp ; and it was on this day from the bivouac of Mackenzie that their

illustrious commander, Field-Marshal St. Arnaud, succumbing to his fatal malady, issued the last order of the day, in which he took leave formally of the troops, and resigned the command to General Canrobert. "Soldiers!" said this touching and memorable address, "Providence refuses to your chief the satisfaction of continuing to lead you in the glorious path which is open before you. Overcome by a cruel disease, with which he has vainly struggled, he regards with profound grief, but he well knows how to perform the imperious duty which is imposed on him by circumstances, that of resigning the weight which his health, for ever destroyed, no longer permits him to bear. Soldiers! you will pity me, for the misfortune which falls on me is immense, irreparable, and perhaps unexampled." Next day, the 27th, the Marshal was seen entering Balaklava, indulging, like every one around him, in eating the delicious grapes which abound in the vineyards of the country. He embarked on board ship on the morning of the 29th, where he expired in the midst of the officers who surrounded him.

On Sunday divine service was performed at Balaklava by the Rev. Mr. Wright, the chaplain attached to the head-quarters of the army; his text was taken from the 23rd chapter of Joshua; his discourse is described as being very plain, but honest, and such as any soldier could understand: even the enemy seemed to respect the Sunday until late in the day, when they began their firing and continued it until after sunset; one of the shots fell close over the head of Lieut.-Colonel Powell, 57th Regiment, and nearly killed him and his horse.

The great loss of one of the chaplains, Mr. Mocklar, who died of cholera in the hospital, is feelingly related by one of his intimate acquaintance. He had followed the army from the Alma on foot, and the excessive fatigue was supposed to have materially hastened his death. In his last moments he was


visited by the Rev. Mr. Heyward, and Mr. Wright, the senior chaplain; the latter relates that whilst praying with him, the dying Christian expressed his love and admiration of the beautiful Church service for the sick; "Beautiful prayers! beautiful prayers!" were almost his last words. In Mr. Mocklar the third division had an amiable, intelligent, and faithful chaplain; he went down to the grave with the regret of all who knew him. "He had neither bag, baggage, nor horse."

Balaklava was a place admirably adapted for landing the heavy siege guns, and other cumbrous missiles of destruction. The French chose other harbours for landing their siege train, viz., Arrow Bay, Kamiesch Bay, and one close to Cape Chersonesus. The possession of Balaklava made the allied troops masters of the ground about Sebastopol, which slopes down gradually towards the town. Within a few days 60 guns of the heaviest metal were landed from the British fleet, besides mortars of every description, and were sent towards the lines; 1,000 sailors were landed from the fleet, who began dragging up the guns to act against the siege, some six or eight miles of most difficult ground. The sea blockade of Sebastopol was so strict, that not a boat could leave without being captured.

We have many interesting anecdotes of the great battle of the Alma, some of which are worth recording. The 7th Fusiliers lost their colours, and the Russians got hold of them; but the 79th charged them three times before they succeeded in getting them back. One colour of the 7th Regiment was lost, and was found wrapped round the body of the ensign in a hut into which he had crawled with a broken leg. A sergeant of the 23rd killed eight men at the first gun they took; he laid about him so that the Russians thought he was the devil, and ran away: the Guards captured the gun, a brass 7-inch howitzer, which was put on board ship to be sent to England.

The 33rd crossed the river in deep water up to their arm-pits under a shower of balls, and were the first to reach the opposite bank, the 23rd being close upon them; the advance was made under the heaviest cannonade on record. The appearance of the Highlanders was so imposing that they seem to have been taken for cavalry, and a large square was formed to resist them, but the square soon dissolved into "*sauve qui peut*," when the Russians took to their heels. Lieutenants Lindsay and Thistlewaite, of the Scots Fusilier Guards, whose exploits have been carried to the heights of the Alma, deserve particular notice for their daring courage. At the moment the heights were gained, it was impossible to tell friends from foes; the two lieutenants became separated from their companies, and found themselves with four sergeants, whose duty it was to support them. They were attacked by a body of Russians, whose commanding officer led them against the colours, which were carried by Lieutenant Lindsay; they were torn into strips, being pierced by a cloud of bullets; the staff was broken in two, but still the gallant officers persevered, and succeeded in cutting their way through the enemy who surrounded them; the successful standard-bearer escaped almost miraculously, and succeeded in planting the colours on the heights, which had been just won from the Russians; Mr. Lindsay having actually climbed the steep part of the hill with the broken staff, whilst he exultingly waved what remained of her Majesty's colours over his head. Neither of these gallant officers received any injury.

The Russian camp was found strewed with helmets, knapsacks, muskets, &c., denoting the most precipitate retreat; they had evidently been some weeks on the ground, and the remains of their camp prove it to have been very commodious; there was a long row of skilfully constructed ovens and tables formed of flat stone. Of the Russian dead



there was found on their breasts a small metal cross; also a brass plate bearing upon it the effigy of St. Nicholas. Nothing could exceed the kindness of the British officers towards the wounded Russians; they ran over the field with a plentiful supply of brandy and administered it where it was wanted equally with their own men; the field of battle looked more like an *abattoir* than anything else; in the redoubts the Russian dead lay literally heaped on each other. No description can realise the horrors of that battle-field. The dead, the dying, horses, guns, carriages, headless trunks, bodies without arms or legs, mutilations of every sort—perhaps the horrors of war were never before so heaped on one spot. The battle was fought in sight of the fleet; the officers and men saw the whole of it from the tops and the rigging, and were able to give full accounts of this horrible warfare. The Turkish troops after the battle were busy pillaging the dead, an occupation in which some of the British troops joined.

At the commencement of the action many ladies were on the heights. Prince Menschikoff had given them to understand that on the part of the Russians it would be a mere review; that the Allies would not be able to meet his heavy artillery, and would retreat; a scaffolding had been erected for their accommodation, but they appear to have retired in great haste when the enemy got close. There were several papers found in Prince Menschikoff's carriage, amongst them was a despatch addressed to the Emperor, assuring him that the position selected on the Alma must detain the Allies three weeks, and that he confidently hoped it would be found altogether impregnable. In the advance one of the Russian generals was taken prisoner, he had thrown himself off from his wounded horse, and was trying to conceal himself, when Lord Raglan rode up and questioned him. In reply he said that the number of Russians was about 50,000, and that he did not

expect we should have ever taken the position, adding that they "had come to fight *men* and not *devils*," as our redcoats seemed to be. When taken on board ship he complained that one of his captors had taken from him his silver snuff-box; an inquiry was made, and the artilleryman who had it gave it up. The Russian arms and accoutrements left on the field were collected in heaps, from which the curious gathered trophies, to hand down to posterity as mementos of this famous field. The Russian eagles in front of the helmets of the imperial guard seemed in great request for this purpose. On the plain, near the Signal Tower, where the struggle was the hottest on the part of the French, they left a stone inscribed "Victoire de l'Alma," with the date. The English left no monument on the fatal field, since it requires none, where the British infantry drove the battalions of the Tzar with terrible slaughter from one of the strongest positions in Europe. At the same time it must be admitted that the Russians fought well; their obstinacy in holding their position was simply in order to secure their retreat effectually; until the last moment their troops appear to have been kept well in hand, and to have done the duty worthy of their ancient reputation. The Cossacks are the first light troops as scouts and patrols, but not of much service in the actual shock of battle; they are said to do much mischief with their disorderly practices and pillage.

The light division led the English attack: on their advance, the troops had to pass through the vineyards, where the men gave surprising examples of coolness, courage, and contempt of danger. In the midst of the most tremendous fire which an army has ever maintained, with comrades falling around them, the men began seeking for fruit, plucking the half-ripe grapes which were hanging temptingly on the hewn vines. After the capture of the redoubt they followed on the hill, pouring volley after volley after the retreating Russians. The 23rd was nearly anni-

hilated, six officers fell on the spot, but before the mistake could be discovered, and when within musket range, a compact column, supposed to be French, poured such a volley into the British ranks that the light division was forced to give way, and the redoubt fell into the hands of the Russians once more. The Highlanders behaved with distinguished courage, they never fired a shot till close upon the Russian regiments, when they gave them a volley and charged; before rushing to the attack the whole division lay down in one of the Russian trenches to load and close up. The artillery behaved with their usual gallant and indomitable courage.

The Alma river is generally fordable for troops, but its banks are extremely rugged and in most parts steep; the willows along it had been cut down, in order to prevent their affording cover to the attacking party; everything had been done to deprive the assailant of every kind of shelter. Our officers were all in uniform, thereby being conspicuous marks for the enemy. The British regiments marched with their colours, and the enemy made the latter a special mark for the rifles; thus it was that so many ensigns, lieutenants, and sergeants fell: the 23rd regiment lost no fewer than 20 sergeants killed and wounded, nearly all of them round the colours; the Queen's colour was struck in eleven, and the regimental colours in fourteen places. No ensign, eagle, standard, or colour of any kind was displayed by the enemy or found on the field. The Russian officers were not distinguished from the privates, since they all wore the grey long coats fastened in behind; in every one of their knapsacks was found a loaf of black bread, and a linen roll containing a coarse brown biscuit or hard bread, which seemed to be their only food. The Russian officers who were wounded, and all prisoners of rank, were sent on board ship; the Russian dead were all buried together in pits, and were carried down as they lay. The

British soldiers who fell were buried in the same way, and it was a melancholy sight to see the litters borne in from all quarters, and to watch the working parties as they wandered about the plain turning down the blankets, which had been stretched over the wounded to see if they were yet alive or had become food for worms, and then adding many a habitant to the yawning pits which lay with insatiable mouths gaping on the hill-side, or covering up the poor sufferers destined to pass another night of indescribable agony. The thirst of the wounded seemed intolerable, and the brave soldiers went about relieving the wants of the miserable creatures as far as they could. The sad duty of burying the dead was completed on the 22nd. The medical staff laboured assiduously in attending to the wounded and performing operations; upwards of 1,000 cases occurred in the light division alone. The escape of some of the soldiers seemed almost miraculous. Chin straps were shot off, buttons carried away, coats ripped up, all without farther injury to the wearer. As soon as the men got up the hill after the action, they spread out and opened the knapsacks, which were lying by thousands all over the field, many of the enemy having lightened themselves in order to run the better. The soldiers being much excited they commenced breaking all the enemy's firelocks and rifles which lay on the ground; many of them being loaded, the concussion set them off; the result was that balls were singing through the air in every direction. The Russian cartridges were beautifully made and finished, the balls being strongly gummed in at the end, but the powder was coarse and unglazed; the bayonets were soft and bent easily.

The stories of individual prowess would fill volumes. Captain Mocat, of the 7th, ran one man through with his sword, and had struck down another who was in the act of firing at him when he was shot dead by the rear-rank man. Consider-

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able difference of opinion exists as to who captured the gun; the Scots Fusiliers say that they were the first within the battery, but it is said the words "Grenadier Guards" were chalked on the gun. A fine young officer, Lieutenant Stockwell, of the 19th, was shot through the heart whilst in the act of waving the regimental colours by command of the colonel; he had been gazetted to the 46th in December last, and exchanged to the 19th on active service, though, by education, an artillery officer. Lieutenant-Colonel Charteris's death was deemed a most glorious one; his horse having been shot under him, he seized the colours of the regiment, and advancing at their head, was killed by a round shot just as the Russians were retreating. A Russian officer lay dead with a little dog sitting between his legs, a position from which no persuasion could move the dog, the officer had been mortally wounded, and had given his gold watch to a soldier who kindly gave him a draught of water. Another, quite a boy, lay with his hands clasped in the attitude of prayer. In crossing the river the enemy rained canisters upon the British troops (a canister is a case full of iron bullets, about sixty or eighty in each case), and as the men laid large thick planks over the stream for the artillery to pass over, some of the planks were cut to pieces by the enemy's balls, but nothing daunted, the artillery passed over. The horses had had no water for nearly two days, and would not stir until they had drunk, accordingly a number of the drivers were here knocked over by the Russians; the Rifles, the Highlanders, and other regiments, rushed across and clambered up the hill the men dropping at every step. More than one message was sent from the French to the English during the struggle. On one occasion an officer who came to Lord Raglan on foot was much excited, he pointed out a wall behind which a large body of Russian infantry was stationed, who poured a tremendous

fire on the suffering mass of French as they struggled up the hill, and requested that the fire of the artillery might be directed upon them, which request was speedily complied with, and is thus described by an eye-witness. "I never saw better leadership in my life. Sir Colin Campbell, drawing his sword, cried, 'Come, Highlanders, the hill is ours.' A braver man could not be, it was spirit-stirring to witness him. I am sure the men would have followed him to certain death at least; my heart rose at the sight of the gallant old man, with his cocked hat, roaring, 'Come, boys, come on, boys.' We gave him three deafening cheers, and kept them up doubling at the charge and independent firing. One of the wounded Russians was attempting to kill Sir Colin at the same time, when he told two of his company to pick him down, which was soon done. When the top of the hill was gained, we had a fine view of the scattered Russians."—The wounded men were conveyed in jolting arabas five miles to the sea, whilst the French had well-appointed covered vans for their wounded, borne by fine mules; not only the wounded but their sick were put on board. The exposure of the men on the bivouac added very materially to the number of sick, since the air is described as having been very sharp; the watch-fires scarcely warmed the poor fellows, who crouched around them in great coats and blankets.

Among those who gallantly distinguished themselves at the battle of the Alma, was Mr. Charles P. Lane Fox, nephew of the Duke of Leeds, and late a lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards, from which regiment he retired some months since, but subsequently followed his regiment to the East, and was appointed aid-de-camp to Brigadier Beatson with the Bashi Bazouks, under the title of "Yuseph Bey." Upon their being disbanded, he landed with the brigade of Guards in the Crimea, and appeared upon the battlefield in a shooting-jacket. Catching the first strong

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horse in his path, he was indefatigable in getting up ammunition, and was complimented by the Duke of Cambridge on the field. At the close of the action he was shot through the ankle, and in that state bore Captain Charles Baring, of the Coldstream Guards, who had lost his arm, off the field. Colonel Blake rode down so steep a pitch to the river, that his horse went in head foremost, and was completely under water for some seconds, but was soon recovered, when the gallant soldier was again mounted; subsequently, the horse got one ball in his jaw, one in his side, and a contusion from grape in his chest; besides these, one ball was lodged in the saddle, another in the holster, where the pistol stopped it, and a sixth ball hit the colonel in the wrist, ran up the sleeve to the elbow where it came out, having grazed the flesh of his arm, but it was not of any importance. The balls in the animal were extracted; the horse was doing well and likely to recover. The colonel was close to the colours all the time, and saw three of his officers struck down in succession who carried them. Colonel Steele, Lord Raglan's military secretary, was for a time supposed to have fallen. Lord Raglan, in the heat of the fight, ordered him to ride to the brigade of Guards, and gave the order to advance, intending of course that the order being given he should return to his place with the Staff; the moment was, however, too exciting for the hot blood of the military secretary, and having given the order of his chief, he rushed forward himself with his own battalion, and did not again present himself to Lord Raglan until he came to announce that the field was won, and to ask forgiveness of the breach of orders of which he had been guilty, in joining the brilliant charge of the Guards which so largely aided in gaining the battle.

The Guards and Highlanders suffered most in coming through the vineyard, yet they would never have broken their ranks but for one temptation—the large

clusters of ripe grapes; they charged up the heights under a most murderous fire, with their Miniés in one hand, a huge bunch of grapes in the other, which they were stuffing into their mouths during the time; the men parched with thirst, and not having seen any fruit for three weeks, the temptation was irresistible. The officers were similarly employed. As the Duke led on his division for a moment all thought that he was killed, being completely hidden by the smoke of cannon: one 24-pounder passed close to his head, but he soon appeared again, and said "Here I am." Lord Raglan was so pleased at the proof of Sir Colin Campbell's experience and generalship in saving his men, that he rode up on the field of battle, and shaking him warmly by the hand, asked him what he could do for him. Sir Colin acknowledged his thanks, and asked his Lordship's permission to wear the Highland feather bonnet for the rest of the campaign instead of the general's cocked hat; the permission was instantly given, and Sir Colin appeared the next morning in the bonnet of waving plumes, to the intense delight of the Highlanders, who went into extacies of cheers whenever he came amongst them.

From a surgeon's letter from the field of battle we copy the following:—"The pluck of the soldier no one has ever yet described; they laugh at pain, and will scarcely submit to die; it is perfectly marvellous the triumph of mind over body. If a limb was torn off crushed, at home you would have him brought in fainting and in a state of collapse; here they come with a dangling arm, or a riddled elbow, with 'Now, doctor, be quick, if you please, I am not done for so bad but I can get away back and see.' And many of these brave fellows with a lump of tar oozing out of cold water wrapped round their stump crawled to the rear of the fight, and with shells bursting around them, and balls tearing up the sod at their feet, watched the progress of

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the battle. I tell you as a solemn truth, that I took off the foot of an officer, who insisted on being helped on his horse again, and declared that he could fight now that his foot was dressed. I told him that if he mounted he would burst the ligatures and die on the spot; but for all that he would have returned to the hill, if he could have prevailed on any one to help him to mount."

## CHAPTER VI.

WE left the army at Balaklava, and on the 28th September the 2nd and 3rd divisions were ordered at once to move up to the heights above Sebastopol, where they encamped, the 1st division remaining at Kadikoi, the port of Balaklava, for the protection of that important post, while the right division rested on the heights above the harbour which it had occupied before the surrender of the fort. On the appearance of the allied troops on the heights, a panic prevailed at Sebastopol. Steamers and boats of every description were seen moving to and fro in the harbour, long lines of carts and carriages were seen, ladies moving on horseback, were observed hurrying along the road leading to the interior, property of every kind had been removed from the town. The engineers and artillerymen proceeded at once to land the siege guns; and on the 29th some of them were already dragged up the heights, and temporarily placed in a field in the rear of the position occupied by the troops, without any molestation from the enemy.

The Duke of Cambridge's division, consisting of the Guards and Highland brigade, remained in the rear of the army till the 2nd October, in order to cover the base of operations from any attack. The French army occupied the left of the British position, extending to the coast immediately south of Sebastopol;

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the Turks were encamped in the rear to the right of the 3rd division. The Bay of Balaklava had been adopted as the base of operations of the British army. The only access to it from the lower side is at the inner end of the bay, through a breach in the surrounding hills, which gradually open out an extensive valley, about three miles long by two miles broad.

It was in this valley that the serious affair of the 25th October took place, which we have yet to relate. Forty miles eastward of Balaklava leads to Yalta, in the beautiful environs of which town are the marine villas of some of the Russian nobility scattered along the sheltered coast. The country between Balaklava and Sebastopol, where the allied army is encamped, is a barren hilly steppe destitute of water, and covered with no better herbage than thistles; the French took up their position near the sea, having selected, as their base of operations, the three deep bays lying between Cape Chersonesus and Sebastopol, where they had the advantage of embarking their siege artillery much nearer to the scene of action. Lord Raglan with his staff quitted Balaklava on the 5th October, and established his head-quarters near the farm of Dzeuzde Otai, about a mile and half from Sebastopol; a force of 1,200 marines was stationed on the hills round Balaklava, on the road to the camp and the Black Sea; the front of the besieging force extended in line from the mouth of the Tchernaya to the sea of Streletskoi Bay, forming nearly a semicircle round Sebastopol, at a distance of about two miles from the enemies' works. This position was found to be close enough, since the Russian guns threw shells to the distance of 4,000 yards.

On the 5th October Captain Staunton was sent to examine the ground with the view of making a line of defence on the side of Balaklava, and in two days more the earthworks were commenced; the English *batteries commanded Sebastopol at a very considerable*

elevation, but were far too extensive for the number of troops that occupied them, hence their duties were beyond ordinary physical strength, besides offering a weak point open to the enemy. On the 7th a council of war was held at the head-quarters of the British army, when the nature of the operations of the siege was decided upon. Up to this time nothing had been done, except that the greater part of the siege artillery had been disembarked, and was ready to be placed in battery. It was subsequently resolved that the French should undertake the real attack on the extreme left before the sea and dockyard creek, while our batteries should be erected at a sufficient distance to keep down the fire of the enemy, without any intention of moving them for the present nearer the town. This determination was chiefly owing to the nature of the ground respectively held by the two armies. This decision having been come to, orders were given for breaking the ground, and directions in general orders for the conduct of the troops to be employed in digging and defending the trenches. There were four distinct works; none of the batteries were nearer than 1,300 yards to the Russian lines, the average distance being about 1,500 yards.

The enemy first appeared in force on the British flank on the 7th October, but did not then persevere in the attack. A body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery on that day occupied the Tchernaya, and appeared in the valley to the north of Balaklava. About 1,500 Cossacks advanced beyond the rest of the detachment, and approached the British lines. It was only on the 12th October that the works intended for the defence of Balaklava were completed. Sir Colin Campbell having been named to the command of this important position, encamped at the entrance of the small valley with the 93rd Highlanders. About 3,000 Turkish troops were added to this small force; some were placed in the redoubts, and the





heights above the harbour were confided to about 1,500 marines and sailors.

It was only as the siege advanced, that the extraordinary nature of the enterprise revealed itself. Sebastopol was defended by earthwork entrenchments nearly in a straight line, and in these unbreachable ramparts was mounted an artillery much more powerful than that of the besiegers, which could be replaced by new guns as fast as dismounted. The force disposable for the defence of Sebastopol was nearly equal to that of the allied armies, and supplies of all kinds could be conveyed into the town, since the place could be only invested on one side.

One thousand sailors were landed from the fleet to assist in getting up the heavy guns to the heights. These enormous masses of metal had to be dragged by the men, assisted by the horses, over a steep and hilly country to a distance of eight miles; the sailors' camp was formed near the line of the third division, ultimately consisting of 2,000 men.

The works of bastions and entrenchments were now carried on with great activity by the allied forces; but the nature of the ground offered great impediments to perform the necessary work of trenching, throwing up ramparts, and forming earthworks. The surface of the soil was strong and hard; then the labourer came to a stratum of petrous masses of volcanic formation, which defied the best tools to make any impression upon it. The direction of the trenches was parallel with that of the enemy's fortifications, and of such dimensions that the troops could move along them with ease. By a succession of these trenches, the earth from which was thrown up on the side towards the town, a bank or parapet was raised for the protection of the troops in the trenches, which were advanced to within 300 yards of the Russian works. The Russians made several "sorties," but were *always unsuccessful*. They kept up an incessant fire

from their batteries, without occasioning any great loss to the men working in the trenches.

The officers of the line and of the guards took part in the labour of the sappers and miners, their consequent appearance was most unusual to the home parade of a British officer in full uniform. Their clothes, which had not been pulled off for six weeks, looked dirty and seedy, retaining scarcely anything of their original colour. They could not wash their persons, since there was scarcely water enough to drink; even amongst the most favoured of the staff officers there could not be found, perhaps, a dozen clean shirts in the army, since they landed with no other baggage than what they could carry. They had worn their full-dress coats during the whole of the time, having marched, fought, and slept in them, the gold lace and heavy gold epaulettes bearing but faint reminiscences of their former selves. Every officer and man on landing had been compelled to take three days' provision (biscuit and salt pork), his cloak and blanket slung across his shoulder, with haversac containing prog hanging over the other shoulder, the troops being for twenty-one days without their tents. This exposure to the night air, which was extremely cold, greatly increased the number of sick from agues and fevers. It was estimated that up to the 17th October, the period when the siege was to begin, that the loss to the British army amounted to one-fifth, or about 5,000 men put *hors de combat* from cholera, fever, and the sword, the attendance on the sick likewise requiring the service of many able-bodied men. The Coldstreams had only twelve officers left to do duty, not one to a company, and the Scots' Fusiliers were not better off.

Before we proceed with the history of the siege of Sebastopol, we will give a short sketch of "this famous stronghold of the Russians, one of the most modern creations in the rapidly-growing empire of the Tzars; its site, until 1786, having been occupied

by nothing more pretentious than a miserable village of Tartar huts, named Akhtier. The splendid natural advantages of its harbour for a first-rate naval port, however, attracted the keen notice of Catherine II. In 1780 the first stone of the new fortress and arsenal was laid, and from that period it has rapidly increased in strength and importance. Sebastopol is situated on the western coast of the peninsula of the Crimea, in an amphitheatre to the south of the harbour, extending along a point of land which separates the Bay of Yujnaia-Bukhta, which forms the port, from Artillery Bay, a small indentation on the other side. The town stands on a chalky stratum, which rises from a height of 30 feet at the extremity of the point to an elevation of 190 feet above the sea in the upper part. This elevation, with the steep coast opposite, which also consists of a calcareous rock, perfectly defends the bay, which, from the summit of the heights, appears to lie at the bottom of a deep cavity; and, indeed, at a very short distance from the shore inland it is impossible to perceive the tops of the highest masts. The town is composed of parallel streets, running up the steep acclivity, and is divided into quarters by a few transverse streets. Near the extremity of the point of land stands the house built in 1787 for the reception of the Empress Catherine II. Behind are situate the Admiralty, the Arsenal, and the houses of the naval officials; while higher up are the dwellings of the inhabitants of the town, the market, and the Greek church, besides which there is a Russian church for the use of the sailors belonging to the Black Sea fleet. The seamen's hospitals and barracks, and the magazines, are mostly situate on the other side of the harbour, and, together with the barracks of the garrison, built a short distance from the former, compose a sort of suburb. Outside the town, towards Artillery Bay, are the quarters of the artillery corps, a few private houses, the quarantine station, and, scattered here

and there on the shore opposite the roadstead, are the counting-houses and gardens of the officers of the Dockyard and Arsenal. The town of Sebastopol itself is not much above a mile in length, and is nowhere more than 400 yards wide; but neither the regimental barracks, erected about a half mile from the upper part of the town, nor those for the sailors, opposite the town itself, nor the hospitals, are included within this space.

The harbour, as being the most important feature of Sebastopol, and which has been compared to that of Malta, merits a more minute description. The principal bay is about three miles and a half in depth, with a width of three-quarters of a mile at the mouth, widening to nearly a mile, and then narrowing to 600 or 700 yards at the head. The average depth at the mouth is not above 10 or 11 fathoms; as far as the ancient village of Akhtier, where the naval magazines now are, it is about nine fathoms; and from there diminishes gradually towards the two ports to three fathoms. There is not a rock or shoal in the whole harbour, except opposite the Severnaia Kossa, or northern point, where there is a small sandbank, which ships entering the bay have to avoid, and where the sailors find abundance of fish. At the further end of the port the water becomes gradually shallower in the direction of Inkerman, and near the little river Byjugusen is not more than a yard or half a yard in depth, with a muddy bottom.

The entrance of the harbour is defended by strong batteries placed at the extremity of the two points of land that form the bay. Besides these there is another fronting the town, and two more on the double point on which the town stands, with a redoubt higher up. One of these batteries, which is semicircular, also defends Artillery Bay. The large harbour, as well as the lesser, is perfectly protected from all winds by the chalk rocks which surround it, and which rise to a greater height more inland, so

that it is only on the rare occurrence of a tempest from the west that any danger can be occasioned to the shipping in the bay. About a mile from the mouth of the bay the grand port for vessels of war forms a sort of small arm, running in a south-west direction. This arm, which the Tartars used to call Kartali-Kosh (Vulture Bay), is now called Yujnaia-Bukhta, or South Port. It is upwards of a mile and a-half in length, with a width of 400 yards at the entrance, and has a little narrow creek of about 600 yards in length, in which ships can be laid up in ordinary with perfect safety. On the other side of the town, in Artillery Bay, is a similar creek, used to careen vessels of war, for the purpose of cleansing and scorching their bottoms. The sea-worm, *teredo navalis*, which pierces submerged wood, exists in large numbers in the Black Sea, especially along the shores of the Crimea, and in the harbour of Sebastopol. In less than two years, if a vessel is not copper sheathed, these worms pierce through the whole of the outer timbers. Hence it is found necessary to counteract their operations by careening the vessel every two years, and scorching the outside of the bottom with pitch and juniper wood.

The situation of Sebastopol on a dry soil causes it to be extremely healthy, the air being tempered in summer by cooling winds, and mildened in winter by the shelter of lofty hills to the north and east. The greatest heat in summer does not exceed 26 degrees of Reaumur (77½ F.). Land and sea breezes alternate successively morning and evening, cooling the air, at the same time favouring the entrance and departure of vessels, while at sea outside the harbour the prevalent winds are north-east and north-west.

Late on the evening of the 16th October, Lord Raglan made known to the troops the gratifying intelligence, that the fire would be opened against Sebastopol from the trenches at half-past six the following morning, and as the dawn burst upon the

defenders of the besieged fortress, they saw 71 embrasures opening upon them from the English lines, and 46 from the French, when the dreadful work began, and the air was filled with mighty sounds such as had never before stirred the echoes of these hills, as volley after volley followed in quick succession. The morning dawned slowly, a thick fog hung over the town and spread far up the heights. At six o'clock the mist began to disappear, and the rich clear October sun made every instant objects more visible. Slowly, like the drawing back of a huge curtain, the mist moved off seaward, a cool morning breeze sprung up, when the atmosphere became clear and bright. Around were the wide extended lines of the besiegers, sloping down from the elevated ridge held by the British to the low grounds on the coast occupied by the French. Facing them below was the continuous line of Russian entrenchments of earthwork, interspersed with redoubts, stone towers, and loop-holed battlements, with the line-of-battle ships showing their heavy guns in the harbours; beyond was the open sea, bearing on its bosom like a dark belt the immense armada of the allied fleet.

At half-past six the preconcerted signal of three shells went up one after another from the French battery, and the next moment the whole allied batteries opened simultaneously. On the side of the British 73 guns, and on the side of the French 53 guns, in all 126 guns; one-half of which of the heaviest calibre, launched their thunders on the side of the Allies, whilst 200 guns replied in one deafening and continuous roar from the Russian lines. Two long lines belching flame and smoke appeared through the space between, hurling a shower of shot and shell; whilst the earth shook with the thunder of the deadly volleys. The first few minutes' firing sufficed to show that neither party had accurately known the actual strength of its opponents, and it soon appeared that even in the extent of the earth-

works thrown up since the siege began, the Russians immeasurably surpassed the besiegers; fresh batteries were unmasked one after the other, and the allied Generals were taken completely by surprise at the magnitude of the defences.

It soon became apparent, that the French, despite their gallantry, were fighting to a disadvantage; for soon after nine o'clock there came an explosion—then a dense cloud of smoke was seen hovering over one of their batteries, where a magazine exploded, causing the death and wounding of 50 men—besides blowing the earth-works to atoms. Within an hour after a lesser explosion took place, and the French fire was crushed so completely, that they were unable to discharge any more guns, and General Canrobert gave orders for the firing to cease along the lines. The British batteries were more successful :—a shell from the Green Mount Battery lodged on the powder-magazine of the Redan Russian Battery, when the magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion: a white lurid flame suddenly shot high into the air, followed by a report that made the earth tremble in the allied lines, and the next minute its garrison of hundreds were blown to atoms—their remains strewn the ground a great distance around. There were visible to the naked eye—arms, legs, and heads of the Russian warriors, mingled with cannon-wheels, waggons, military weapons, and everything that the battery contained. So powerful was the effect which this explosion produced on the besieged, that both English and French officers, as well as troopers, threw their caps into the air, at the same time giving a shout which might have been heard a league off. The Russians, however, were nowise daunted, and returned their fire with undiminished energy: they used red-hot shot, rockets, and carcasses (combustible shells). The terrible effects of these soon made themselves apparent. A heavy smoke began to *darken the works on both sides, in the midst of*

which the large circular tower on the right shone out in grand relief. Scarcely had half-an-hour elapsed, when the most terrible changes were visible in its aspect. Several shells had burst upon the top of it, and thrown off the earth-works on every side. Three of the guns were at once dismounted, and a fourth stood close up—a solitary gunner appeared to be working this gun. In about an hour the fire from the town had considerably slackened: and the frightened gunners might be seen flying from their guns. They were rallied, however, by an officer on horse-back, who brought back most of them to their guns, when the fire proceeded on both sides with considerable regularity. The Russian fire, though well-directed, made no impression upon the well-constructed British lines; whilst it was evident that the earth of theirs was rolling away and flying off in dust-heaps from the discharge of the British guns. After the explosions of the French magazines already alluded to, the Russian fire was concentrated upon the English lines, which only succeeded during the day in maintaining the advantages they had obtained.

Soon after the explosion of the French battery, the allied fleets were creeping up to the town, towed by steamers. The sinking of the Russian ships, which had taken place, at the mouth of the harbour, prevented the fleet from any near approach to the forts. The French fleet led the way, and took up their station under Fort Alexander, at the distance of about 2,000 yards, exposed to the most tremendous fire, which was as briskly returned by them. They had been two hours in action before they were followed by the 'Agamemnon,' the 'Sans Pareil,' and other ships of the British fleet, that approaching within 900 yards of Fort Constantine, close to shoal water, and passing in the rear of the French, they anchored to their left. They were preceded by a little tug-steamer, commanded by Mr.



Bell; and as they drew near to take up their positions, five batteries opened their broadsides, when the iron shower rattled through their spars and masts, which soon became a perfect wreck. The 'Britannia,' or flag-ship, anchored at about 2,000 yards from the fort—her firing, which was incessant, was consequently ineffectual. The sight was not only imposing, but the moment was most exciting, when the first shot was fired from the fort. It was like an electric spark running through the crew, amongst whom there was a perfect frenzy for firing; the greatest difficulty was to make the men cease, which was sometimes necessary when another vessel was in the way. The day was a dead calm, so that the smoke hung heavily both about the ships and the batteries, and frequently prevented either from seeing anything. The noise of the united broadsides of the two and three deckers, added to that which previously existed, was most terrific; the flashes of the guns were to be seen through the smoke, and defenders as well as besiegers were enveloped in one common blaze and smoke. The battle raged most furiously both from the ships and the batteries, and such a conflict is perhaps almost unparalleled between the brave foes of different nations. The French line-of-battle ships engaged the batteries on the sea-side, to which the Russians replied vigorously by sea and land. Orders had been given to the fleet to spare the town and buildings as much as possible. At half-past one an explosion took place of the magazine of the great Redan, amid much cheering from our men; but the fire of the Russians was not abated, and at half-past three the magazine outside the works of the round tower was blown up by the shot from the ships. The smoke and roar were most awful; the former being lit up by volleys of flashes. The roar of the cannon was continuous. Towards four o'clock the fire from Fort Constantine somewhat slackened, but the 'Agamemnon' continued her

broad-sides until sunset, when she came out, owing to the closing darkness. She had fired 70 rounds, and her broadside was quite scorched throughout. A thick smoke, scarcely swept away at intervals by the light breeze, so enveloped the fleets, that it was only by the roar of their broad-sides, which rose even above the roar of artillery from the land-batteries, that a spectator would know the fearful conflict that was going on. The British Admiral had a narrow escape. A shell burst on the poop whilst he was sitting on the railing when it fell; and so had the French Admiral a narrow escape, for a shell fell in a similar way on the poop where he was, killing some of his officers around him.

The French fought bravely, but they were too far off to effect the same damage with that of the British. Admiral Hamelin's flag-ship, the 'Ville de Paris,' was obliged to be sent to Constantinople for repair, as was likewise her Majesty's ship 'Albion.' Towards dark the fire slackened, and at night it ceased altogether; and when the ships returned to their anchorage, the change is described as magical, from a hot sun—mist—smoke—explosions—shot—shells and rockets, and the roar of 1,000 guns, to a still, cool, brilliant star-light, looking down upon a glassy sea, reflecting in long tremulous lines the lights at the mast-heads of the ships, returning amid a profound silence. Three or four of the ships were roughly handled. The 'Agamemnon' had 4 killed and 25 wounded; the 'Albion' had 10 killed and 75 wounded; the 'Sans Pareil' 10 killed and 59 wounded; the 'Britannia' had only 9 slightly wounded. No captains had been hit. The blue-jackets showed their ancient valour. It was a great disadvantage that the vessels could only approach one at a time, instead of advancing rather in a line, so as to commence firing at the same time. The ships which went later into action could scarcely get a look at the forts at which they had to fire, much less obtain

an estimate of the distance they were off from it. Moreover the gradual approach of one vessel gave the Russians the facility of concentrating the fire of their batteries upon it. Eight ships of the line were so seriously damaged, that they were sent for repair to Toulon and Portsmouth. The 'Agamemnon,' Admiral Sir E. Lyons, suffered the most severely; the 'Retribution' had a mast shot away. The Russians acknowledge a loss of 500 killed and wounded. Admiral Nachenoff was killed by the fragments of a shell, and Admiral Korniloff was dangerously wounded, and died afterwards of his wounds. He was one of the officers who accompanied Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople.—It is remarkable that the two chief officers of the Russian navy who planned and executed the attack on Sinope should have expiated within the year that outrage which gave so terrible an impetus to the ravages of the war.—It should have been noticed, that two or three Turkish sail of the line stood in and fired on the batteries on the Constantine side, without doing much mischief. The night before the bombardment took place, a boat with muffled oars was sent in to explore the two shoals. The crew went all around them, and so close, that they could hear the people talk. Two small Russian steamers, which were likewise on the outside of the sunken vessels, were lying off at the time, but it appears that they mistook the English boat for Russian.

The fire of the besiegers on the works of Sebastopol from their land-batteries continued with unremitting vigour for seven days, and the defence of the besieged was most vigorous. The working parties within the walls could be seen with an eye-glass, like swarms of bees; amongst them were even women assisting in carrying sand-bags, and mixed up with working-parties in different parts of the fortifications. The Russian guns were much heavier than those of the *Allies*, particularly of the French, who had

suffered so much from the explosions spoken of, that they were not able to renew their fire for some time—their works being too slight for the furious cannonade against them.

The number of artillerymen was so unequal to working the siege, that they were compelled to cease firing during the night. The officers and gunners were only every alternate night eight hours off duty, and it took them nearly an hour to go from the camp to the trenches, leaving them but six hours for food and repose. Every day adding to the killed and wounded, consequently diminished the number of those fit for active service. The English batteries were extremely well constructed; not an accident happened to the powder-magazines, though they were more than once exposed to the test of the fall and explosion of a twelve-inch shell. The attempt to silence the enemy's batteries had, up to this time, 20th October, proved fruitless.

On the 24th, a movement was perceived to have taken place amongst the Russian troops on the right bank of the Tchernaya. A considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was observed to be bivouacked at the mouth of a valley, through which the high road from Simpheropol to Sebastopol debouches into a small plain; and some deserters from their camp reported that a 'Corps d'Armée' had arrived from the Principalities, commanded by General Liprandi, which was too fully verified on the morning of the 25th October.

The interest excited by a contest of artillery soon ceases where there is no decided advantage on either side, and in a few days the thunder of the bombardment was almost unheeded; but the troops in the trenches and batteries were hardly worked, and exposed incessantly by day to a tremendous fire. The space in the British magazines was at first insufficient to hold ammunition for the day's consumption, and to take in fresh supplies formed one of the most try-

ing duties which artillerymen could be called on to perform. Waggon's filled with powder, drawn by horses of the field-batteries, were driven down the face of the hill for upwards of half a mile in full view and quite within range of the enemies' guns. A shell bursting in the waggon's would have blown horses and men into the air, yet neither the officers nor their drivers (mere boys) ever showed the least hesitation in proceeding on their perilous errand. Several horses were killed by cannon shot; on one occasion a shell lodged between the spokes of a wheel and the side of the waggon, and blackened the cases of powder without igniting their contents.

In consequence of some information received by Lord Raglan to the effect that an attempt to fire the town of Balaklava and the shipping in the harbour, was meditated by the inhabitants, and said to have been instigated by the authorities at Sebastopol, his Lordship ordered the immediate expulsion of the remaining inhabitants of this little port, consisting entirely of Greeks, their number not exceeding fifty families. This extreme measure admitted of no delay, and the entire population was escorted out of Balaklava by British troops, and directed on to the surrounding villages. Great lamentations were raised by the poor people at having to quit at so short a notice their house and home, but no compromise could take place. A night patrol was established, visiting every house to ascertain if any of those fanatic and malevolent Greeks remained behind. The heights to the rear of Balaklava were mounted with a heavy battery of guns, rendering any attack in that direction out of the question. The front of both armies united, and the line of operations to be covered by them extended from the sea to the Tchernaya river, a distance of from seven to eight miles.

The besiegers continued their works towards the fortress with great energy—new trenches were opened

approaching more nearly towards the town of Sebastopol—the firing was incessant between the belligerents, and many sorties were made by the Russians, in which they were invariably repulsed with great loss. Feats of bravery were displayed on both sides. On the evening of the 20th the Russians made a sortie and spiked three of the French guns, but they were driven back with considerable slaughter. Up to the 22nd the loss of the British in killed and wounded did not exceed 200; but so greatly had they suffered from cold and disease, that no less than 9,000 men had been placed *hors de combat* within the last eight weeks, the effective British troops not reckoning at that time more than 16,000 men. The loss of effective strength from sickness and wounds amounted to about 180 per day. At this period the French troops reckoned 36,000, and the Turks 11,000 men.

The allied troops began to get tired of this continued pounding upon the Russian fortress, seemingly without making much impression upon it. The Russians had plenty of labourers; they easily repaired at night what was destroyed in the day. The British were worn out with fatigue; their daily toil exhausted them. The artillerymen had only five hours' sleep out of the twenty-four. The forces were far too inconsiderable for the great work of besieging Sebastopol, in which place their fire did great damage, amongst others that of burning the hospital full of wounded men from the battle of the Alma; but the Russians were indefatigable in the defence, placing sand-bags on the tops of their public buildings to prevent their taking fire. They opened a very heavy cannonade on the Sunday morning, October 22nd, whilst divine service was being performed amidst a continued bass of cannon rolling through the responses and the liturgy. The Russian general sent to Lord Raglan to ask for a day's truce to bury their dead on both sides, to which the British general

replied, "he had no dead to bury;" they in revenge left their dead where they fell, outside the walls, and even brought them out from the town into the valley frequented by the British piquets and skirmishers, who were much annoyed by the stench.

The most heroic bravery was displayed by some of the British officers, military and naval, amongst others was Captain Peel, of the latter service, who, when the union jack in the sailor's battery was shot away, seized the broken staff, and leaping up on the earth-works, waved the old bit of bunting again and again amidst a storm of shot, which fortunately left him unhurt. On the night of the 20th, the Russians attempted a diversion by marching several battalions of infantry, a quantity of cavalry and guns to the front of Balaklava, when Sir Colin Campbell thought it necessary to send for reinforcements. Accordingly, General Goldie's division marched at three in the morning to the front of Balaklava. Lord Lucan's brigade of cavalry struck tents, but the Russians retired, without having molested the Allies. The progress of the siege was very difficult, rendered so by the indomitable courage and perseverance of the besieged, who, however severe might be their loss, it seemed in nowise to diminish their numbers. Their stock both of men and guns seemed inexhaustible; wherever the latter were damaged, they were immediately withdrawn and replaced with new ones, and they often surprised the Allies by opening fires at new places: the Russian resources seemed unbounded, both as to raw material, and as to stratagem. Lord Dunkellin, eldest son of Lord Clanricarde, was taken prisoner on the evening of the 22nd of October, by the Russians: he was out with an escort with ammunition, and lost his way; they found themselves near a body of men, and the escort warned him that they were the enemy, he however did not think so, and said that he would go and inquire the way from them: as he did not return, the escort immediately made off.

The Russians had now considerably augmented their forces by an army of 50,000 men, commanded by General Liprandi, and on the 25th, they attacked the British with 14 battalions of infantry in the rear of their camp, threatening to cut off their communication with Balaklava. The position occupied by the British was supposed to be impregnable; their lines were formed by mountain slopes in the rear, along which the French had made very formidable intrenchments. On the top of each of these hills the Turks had thrown up earthen redoubts, defended by 250 men each, armed with two or three guns. These hills crossed the valley of Balaklava, at the distance of about two and a half miles from the town. At half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 25th, an orderly came galloping into the head-quarters camp from Balaklava, with the news that a strong body of Russians, supported by guns and battalions of infantry, had marched into the valley, and had nearly dispossessed the Turks of redoubt No. 1; that they were opening fires on the three remaining ones, which would shortly be in their hands, unless the Turks offered a stouter resistance than they had done already. Orders were despatched to Sir G. Cathcart and to the Duke of Cambridge to put their respective divisions in motion, and the intelligence was likewise furnished to the French General Canrobert. Sir Colin Campbell, who was in command at Balaklava, had drawn up the 93rd Highlanders a little in front of the road. At the first news of the advance of the enemy, the marines on the heights were under arms. The seamen's batteries and marines' batteries, on the heights close to the town, were manned, and the French artillerymen prepared for action along the lines. Lord Lucan's little camp was the scene of great excitement: the men had not time to water their horses; they had not broken their fast from the evening of the day before, and had barely saddled at the first blast of the trumpet,

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when they were drawn up on the slopes behind the redoubts in front of their camp, to operate on the enemy's squadrons.

We have now to report the gallant action of Balaklava. It was soon evident that there was no reliance to be placed on the Turkish infantry and artillerymen; when the Russians advanced, they fired a few rounds, looked round, received a few shots, and then bolted. Soon after, Lord Raglan and his staff turned out, and cantered towards the rear of the British position. The booming of artillery and the roll of musketry were heard rising from the valley, drowning the roar of the siege-guns before Sebastopol. The French General Bosquet followed with his staff, a small escort of hussars at a gallop; faint-white clouds rose here and there above the hills from the cannonade below. The fleecy vapours still hung around the mountain tops, mingling with the ascending volumes of smoke, the patch of sea sparkled freshly in the rays of the morning sun, but its light was eclipsed by the flashes which gleamed from the masses of armed men below. To the left, were six compact masses of Russian infantry, which had just debouched from the mountain passes, near the Tchernaya, slowly advancing with solemn stateliness up the valley; immediately in their front was a regular line of artillery, of at least 20 pieces strong: two batteries of light guns were already in advance of them, and were playing with energy on the redoubts, from which feeble puffs of smoke came at long intervals: behind their guns in front of the infantry were enormous bodies of cavalry, in six compact squares, three on each flank, moving down "en echelon." The valley was lit up with the blaze of their sabres, their lance points, and other accoutrements; in their front, and extending along at intervals between each battery of guns, were clouds of mounted skirmishers, wheeling and spreading in front of their march, like autumn leaves tossed by the

winds. The Russians had carried redoubt No. 1: the farthest and most elevated of all, their horsemen were charging the Turks across the interval between it and redoubt No. 2. At that moment the cavalry, under Lord Lucan, were formed in glittering masses; the light brigade, under Lord Cardigan, in advance; the heavy brigade, under Brigadier-General Scarlett, in reserve: they were drawn up just in front of their encampment, and were concealed from the enemy by a slight wave in the plain. Considerably to the rear of the right, the 93rd Highlanders were drawn up in front of the approach to Balaklava; above and behind them on the heights, the marines were visible, under arms; and the gunners could be seen ready in the earth-works, in which were placed the heavy ships' guns. The 93rd had been considerably advanced into the plain, but the instant the Russians got possession of the first redoubt, they opened fire upon them from our own guns, which inflicted some injury, and Sir Colin Campbell retired his men into a better position: meantime the enemy advanced his cavalry rapidly.

The Turks fled from their redoubts at the approach of the enemy; but the Cossacks were too quick for them, and sword and lance were busily plied among the retreating herd. The yells of the pursued and the pursuers were plainly audible among the flying Turks, steel flashing in the air, down went the poor Moslems, quivering on the plain; in vain the naval guns on the heights fired on the Russian cavalry, the distance was too great for shot or shell to reach them; in vain the Turkish gunners in the earthen batteries, which were placed along the French intrenchment, strove to protect their flying countrymen—their shot flew wide and short of the flying masses. The Turks betook themselves towards the Highlanders, where they checked their flight and formed into companies. On the flanks of the Highlanders, who were calmly waiting the approach of the



Russians, they halted—and squadron after squadron flew up from the rear, till they had a body of some 1,500 men on the ridge beneath, consisting of lancers, dragoons, and hussars. The British heavy brigade in advance was drawn up in two lines, consisting of the Scots Greys, the Enniskilleners, the 2nd of the 4th Royal Irish, the 5th Dragoon Guards, and the 1st Royal Dragoons, the light brigade on their left was in two lines. Between the cannon-bursts could be heard the champing of bits and the clink of sabres in the valley below. The Russians on their left drew breath for a moment, and then, in one grand line, dashed at the Highlanders: gathering speed at every stride, they rushed towards their thin red streak, topped with a line of steel. As the Russians came within 600 yards, down goes that line of steel in front, and then rings a rolling volley of Minié musketry. The distance was too great to check the Russians, who still swept onwards with the whole force of man and horse through the smoke, here and there knocked over by the shock of our batteries above. When they came within 150 yards, another deadly volley flashes from the levelled rifles, which carried death and terror into the Russian ranks; they turned about, opened files, right and left, and flew back quicker than they came; but, again, the Russians advanced, evidently a “corps d’élite;” with their light-blue jackets, embroidered with silver lace, they came on at an easy gallop towards the brow of the hill; a forest of lances glistened in their rear, and squadron after squadron of grey-coated dragoons moved up quickly to support them as they reached the summit. Brigadier-General Scarlett rode along in front of his massive squadrons, and the instant the Russians came in sight, the cavalry trumpets gave out the warning blast to rush to the shock of battle.

“The Russians advanced down the hill at a slow canter, which they changed to a trot, and at last *nearly halted*. Their first line was at least double

that of the British, and three times as deep; behind them was a similar line, equally long and compact. At the trumpet-charge, the Greys and Enniskilleners went right at the centre of the Russian cavalry; the space between them was only a few hundred yards, scarcely enough to let the horses 'gather way;' nor had the men sufficient space for the full play of their sword arms. The Russian line brought forward each wing as our cavalry advanced, and threatened to annihilate them as they passed. The Greys rushed on with a cheer which thrilled to every heart; the wild shout of the Enniskilleners rose through the air at the same moment; and as lightning flashes through a cloud, they both dashed through the dark masses of the Russians. The shock was but for a moment; there was a clash of steel and a light play of sword-blades in the air, and then the brave fellows disappeared in the midst of the shaken and quivering Russian columns; in another moment they were seen emerging and dashing on with diminished numbers, and in broken order, against the second line, advanced against them as fast as it could, to relieve the force of the charge. It was a terrible moment—with unabated fire, these noble fellows dashed at the enemy—it was a fight of heroes.—The first line of Russians, which had been smashed utterly at their charge, had fled off at one flank, and towards the centre were coming up to swallow up this handful of men, who by their sheer steel and courage were winning their desperate way right through the enemy's squadrons; and soon the grey horses and red coats appeared right at the rear of the second mass, whose irresistible force, was like a bolt from above. The 1st Royal and 4th Dragoon Guards and the 5th Dragoon Guards rushed at the remnant of the first line of the enemy, and went through it as though it had been made of pasteboard, and dashing on the second body of Russians, as they were still disordered by the terrible assault of the

Greys and their companions, put them to utter rout, the Russian horse, five minutes after, were flying with all speed before a force certainly not half its strength. The cavalry did not long pursue the enemy; their loss was slight; only 35 killed and wounded. The greatest loss was from the cannon playing on the heavy dragoons afterwards, when covering the retreat of the light cavalry.\*

Lord Raglan with his staff and group of officers, likewise some French generals and officers, and bodies of French infantry, were spectators from the heights, where they had a full view of the passing scene. They all dismounted, and sat down; not a word was said beyond the occasional exclamation of "Bravo, Highlanders!" as the events below thickened. When the conflict was over, and the Russians were driven from the field at about 11 o'clock, General Canrobert, attended by his staff, rode up to Lord Raglan; the staffs of the two generals and their escorts mingled together in praise of the magnificent charge of the cavalry, while the chiefs, apart, conversed on the operations of the day. But another glorious charge of the British cavalry, and their disastrous losses occasioned by it, is now to be noticed. After the engagement, the Russian cavalry retired, and their infantry fell back towards the head of the valley, leaving men in three of the redoubts which they had taken from the Turks, abandoning the fourth. They had placed some guns on the heights over their position on the left of the gorge, where their cavalry joined their reserves, and drew up in solid divisions in an oblique line across the entrance to the gorge. Six battalions of infantry were placed behind them, and about 30 guns were drawn up along their lines, while masses of infantry were also collected on the hills behind the redoubts on the British right, and their cavalry had advanced

\* The 'Times' correspondent.

up to the ridge across the valley on their left, as the ground was broken in front, and here they halted. It is reported that Lord Raglan sent off Captain Nolan, of the 8th Hussars, with a written order to Lord Lucan, telling him instantly to storm the guns, "if the thing was practicable;" and that when he had read the order, he asked Captain Nolan, "Where are we to advance to?" To which he replied, "There are the enemy and there are the guns before you; it is your duty to take them." Lord Lucan then, with reluctance, gave orders to Lord Cardigan to advance upon the guns, conceiving that his orders compelled him to do so.\* The noble earl, though he did not shrink, saw also the fearful odds against him. Captain Nolan had scarcely delivered the order when a shell burst near him, hit him on the breast, when he gave a loud cry; his horse turned back with him still in the saddle, and carried him for some way, when he fell dead: he was hit in the heart. A braver officer or a better horseman could not be found in her Majesty's cavalry service.

"The light cavalry brigade, consisting only of 607 sabres, led by Lord Cardigan at 10 minutes past 11, glittering in the morning sun, and in the pride and splendour of war, advanced in two lines, increasing their pace as they closed towards the enemy. The only

\* The following is said to be a copy of Lord Raglan's despatch to Lord Lucan on the 25th:—

"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly in front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent their carrying away their guns. Troops of artillery may follow. French cavalry on the left. Immediate.

"R. AIREY."

It would appear to have been Lord Raglan's impression that the enemy were retreating, and therefore the cavalry was to advance rapidly, and try to prevent their carrying away their guns; but it is also clear that his Lordship did not anticipate that Lord Lucan was to attack *the whole Russian army* in position, or that the cavalry was to advance without the support of the artillery in their rear, or French cavalry on their left.

support they had was the reserve of heavy cavalry at a great distance behind them, the infantry and guns being far in the rear. There were no squadrons nor columns at all; and there was a plain to charge over, before the enemy's guns were reached of a mile and a-half distance. It is described as a fearful spectacle by those who witnessed it with intense anxiety without the power to aid those brave fellows, rushing seemingly to certain destruction at the distance of 1200 yards. Thirty iron guns of the enemy belched forth among them a flood of smoke and flame, accompanied with deadly balls, which was marked by instant gaps in the ranks of the devoted heroes, scattering the ground with dead men and horses; steeds flying wounded or riderless across the plain. The first line broken was joined by the second; they never halted, nor checked their speed one instant; their diminished ranks, thinned by the Russians with their 30 guns, laid with the most deadly accuracy, with a halo of flashing steel above their heads, and with a cheer which was mingled with many a noble fellow's death-cry, they flew into the smoke of the batteries, but ere they were lost from the view, the plain was strewn with their dead bodies, and with the carcasses of horses, being exposed to an oblique fire from the batteries on the hills on both sides, as well as to a direct fire of musketry. Through the smoke were seen their sabres flashing as they rode up to the guns and dashed between them, cutting down the gunners as they stood. After breaking through a column of Russian infantry and scattering them like chaff, they were seen returning, exposed to the flank fire of the battery, which swept them down, scattered and broken as they were; wounded men and dismounted troopers told the sad tale, and on their retreat a numerous mass of lancers were hurled on their flank. Colonel Shewell, of the 8th Hussars, saw the danger, and rode *his* few men straight at them, cutting through

with frightful loss; other regiments turned and engaged in this desperate encounter; the brave troopers were seen breaking their way through the columns which enveloped them, when there took place an act of atrocity without parallel in the modern warfare of civilized nations. The Russian gunners, when the storm of cavalry passed, returned to their guns; they saw their own cavalry mingled with the British troopers, who had just ridden over them, and, to the eternal disgrace of the Russian name, the miscreants poured a murderous volley of grape and canister on the mass of struggling men and horses, mingling friend and foe in one common ruin. It was as much as our heavy cavalry could do to cover the retreat of this band of heroes, as they returned to the place they had so lately quitted in all the pride of life. At half-past 11 not a British soldier, except the dead and dying, was left in front of those terrible Muscovite guns. A braver action than was performed by this little band of heroes is perhaps scarcely recorded in history.\*

In this unhappy affair the light cavalry lost 10 officers and 147 men, killed or missing, and 110 men wounded, with 335 horses. The heavy brigade lost during the day 9 men killed and 10 officers, and 87 men wounded and 46 horses. Thus dearly bought was this heroic act of bravery, which was the more to be lamented, since no possible benefit could accrue from it—it was found impossible to bring away the guns, which was the ostensible motive for one of the most daring attacks which has distinguished the present war, the whole charge having lasted only half-an-hour.

The Russians were left in possession of two of the outposts held by the Turks in the morning and nine guns, their columns remained in the plain, about 1500 yards from the British front, drawn up as if to offer

\* The 'Times' correspondent.




battle. The British army was now wholly withdrawn from the plain to the heights around Sebastopol, with the exception of Sir Colin Campbell's brigade, which was left to protect Balaklava. Great anxiety prevailed as to the officers and men missing since the action at Balaklava. It was said that the Cossacks had been seen riding over the field, transfixing the wounded with their lances. On the 28th, Captain Fellowes was sent to Sebastopol, with a flag of truce, to ascertain their fate. He was coolly received; and was told that the dead were already buried, and the wounded cared for; that if he would return the next day the names of the survivors should be ascertained and given him, with any messages or letters they may wish to send. On returning the day after, he learned that only two officers were alive in the enemy's hands, and that but few prisoners had been made. The Russian general is said to have expressed his surprise at the desperate charge of the light brigade; saying, "The English cavalry were always reported brave, but this was mere folly."

Whilst this affair was going on, the French cavalry made a most brilliant charge at the battery on the left which was firing on the British, and cut down the gunners, but could not get off the guns. The Russians abandoned the redoubts, but carried off seven out of the nine guns in these earth-works; their infantry then began to retire slowly, when the cannonade ceased altogether, and at a quarter past two, the two armies retained their respective positions; it was dark ere Lord Raglan returned to his quarters. It is said that Lord Cardigan was attacked by two Cossacks, who, with their lances, gave him several thrusts which staggered him somewhat in the saddle, but being well mounted, and a capital horseman, and cool as well as brave, he parried their thrusts, and escaped with a few pricks in his legs only. Of Lord Cardigan's staff, consisting of ten officers, only three

came out untouched, both man and horse; all the others were killed, wounded, or made prisoners, or had their horses hurt. The field on the spot where this cavalry attack took place is described as presenting a most horrible sight; from the ghastly nature of the wounds of the horses, there appeared to have been two killed to one man, which gave the field an unusually sanguinary appearance. When the Russian dead were examined, it was found that they were not so badly clothed as was generally imagined, but, on the contrary, that their uniform was quite as good as that of the British army. The officers could only be distinguished from the men by the superiority of their under clothing, and by a narrow strip of gold lace on the shoulder.

On the following day, viz., the 26th October, the enemy made a desperate "sortie" against the British lines, in which they met with a most signal defeat by the division under General De Lacy Evans. A powerful force of 12,000 Russian light infantry sallied from behind the circular earth-works and Redan battery. The British skirmishers, only 200 in number, kept back this immense mass of infantry for five minutes, when they made a rush at the spot where the skirmishers lay, who with one parting volley retired, disputing every inch of the way. All this time the British batteries were pouring in a roar of fire on the enemy, who continued to advance to within a hundred yards of the lines, when gathering together their whole force, they retired in confusion to Sebastopol.

On the 27th October, a council of war was held by the commanders and admirals of the Allies, when it was resolved that the fleets should not again be allowed to participate in the bombardment of Sebastopol from the sea-side, it being found that the ships were thereby exposed to severe injury without being able to render a proportionable effective service. The result of the attack had been, that little



or no damage had been done to the batteries; where several shots had struck the same place, the granite was splintered and broken away to the depth of about a foot or even less; where only one or two shots had struck there was merely a white mark, as though daubed with flour. These stone walls were, in some places 14, and in others 18 feet thick, and they were then as strong as though not a shot had been fired against them: it seems almost incredible that so hot a fire, continued for six hours, could have done them so little damage; but the ships could not approach near enough in consequence of the shoal water to do them more damage. It appears that of the 60 vessels that went in to the attack, 10 only received the whole fire of the enemy. A shell entered the after-cockpit of Her Majesty's ship 'Albion,' lodged in the first-lieutenant's cabin, destroying everything in it and in the adjoining one, when it lodged on one of the midshipmen's chests in the cockpit, the splinters of which killed a man lying upon it. The 'Agamemnon' was first engaged with the Wasp battery and afterwards with Fort Constantine.

The siege of the fortress continued to be pursued by the Allies with the greatest activity; but from the comparatively small number of the besiegers compared to the mighty undertaking, the men suffered considerably from over-work, of which one of them gives the following description: "A night-scene in the trenches is always impressive; the silence in the batteries, broken only by the spade and pick of the sappers; smoothing the earth disturbed by the enemy's balls; the massive guns pouring forth shot from their embrasures; the stupendous strength of the parapets and traverses; the calm slumber of the covering party enveloped in their blankets; and the rumbling of approaching ammunition waggons; one and all strike the imagination of the spectator; an occasional shell from the Russians enlivens the pro-

ceedings; the track of the projectile being traced by the burning fuse from the muzzle of the gun to the point of explosion."

The Russians had now so completely the range of the besiegers' guns, that they were able to do much mischief in the batteries; they made no less than nine holes in the union jack, which the sailors put up in their part of the 21-gun battery; a shot broke the flagstaff in two pieces, when it was replaced, and another shot came and scattered union jack and flag-staff in all directions. Individual acts of bravery in the Russians were sometimes conspicuous, of which the following is an instance:—The leader of a party, when his men began to waver, seized one of their muskets, and waving it in the air, tried to rally them: while holding it in this position, he received a shot in the elbow, and at once took the weapon in the other hand; he was thus vainly trying to restore courage to his men and urging them forward, when two sharpshooters took aim at him, one of the balls wounded him severely in the neck, breaking his lower jaw; he then tried to retreat, but was made prisoner and brought with one of his men into the British camp.

We have now to report one of the most gallant actions which has been fought in this or perhaps any preceding war, called the "Battle of Inkermann."

The attack of Balaklava, on the 25th October, had proved the necessity of strengthening the British position, and opposite Inkermann, a continuous intrenchment was carried on in front of the former place, extending from the plateau across the valley, carried to a mountain-path near the sea, which communicates with the Woronzoff road. On the lowest hill of the valley of Kadakoi a strong fort was erected; batteries were placed at suitable points of the entrenchments, which were guarded by 8,000 French, English, and Turks. The trees of the meadows and gardens were cut down partly to

prevent the enemy from obtaining cover, if they should succeed in penetrating the outer line of defence. On the 4th November it was known in the camp that the Russian army, which had been assembling for some days past at the north of the town, had received important reinforcements, and the arrival of some persons of distinction had been witnessed from the British outposts during the night; there was a great ringing of bells throughout the city, which excited no particular attention, since this had often been heard before; it was then little expected what great enterprise was preparing of which these were the indications.

Before we proceed with the history of this terrible conflict, it will be well to show the nature of the ground on which it took place. The British battery erected at Inkermann was a high wall of earth, reveted with gabions and sand-bags sloping at the extremities, having low embrasures cut in it for the guns to fire through: from end to end it was about 12 paces long. The ruins of Inkermann stand on the edge of a cliff-like precipice on the Russian side of the valley, about a mile from the head of the harbour of Sebastopol. They consist of a broken line of grey walls battlemented in part with round towers; the yellow cliff they stand in is honeycombed with caverns: in the valley beneath is the Tchernaya river; behind it the ground slopes upwards to the plains covered with coppice, and on two high points stood lighthouses to guide ships entering the harbour. Masses of grey stone protrude abruptly through the soil around the ruins, of such quaint forms that in the distance they may be taken for the remains of some ancient city.

Prince Menschikoff had apprised his imperial master that some great enterprise was about to be undertaken against his enemies, that they would either be destroyed or driven into the sea, at the same time requesting the presence of the Grand-

dukes Michael and Nicholas, to be participators in this great victory, who were the "two persons of distinction," whose arrival had been witnessed from the British outposts.

During the early morning of the 5th November, the vigilant and never-sleeping enemy stole out of their fortress, and had assembled in great force in the valley of Tchernaya. Between Inkermann and the harbour, a marsh renders this part of the valley impassable except by the Woronzoff road, which, after winding round the sides of the steep hills, is a level, straight, and solid road across the low ground; here the Russian artillery, proceeding with muffled wheels, were concealed by the jutting of the hill, so that the British outposts could not discern its advance. It had rained almost incessantly on the night of the 4th November, and the following morning gave no promise of the cessation of these heavy showers, which, for the preceding twenty-four hours, had almost deluged the ground. The piquets and men on the outlying posts were so thoroughly wetted, that they had retired for a short respite from the trenches or from regimental duties; the fog and vapour of drifting rains was so thick, as morning broke, that they could scarcely see two yards before them. At a very early hour a sharp-eared serjeant on an outlying piquet of the light division heard the sound of wheels in the valley below, as though they were approaching the position up the hill—no one suspected for a moment that enormous masses of Russians were creeping up the rugged sides of the heights over the valley of Inkermann, upon the undefended flank of the second division, where all was security and repose—little did the slumbering troops in camp imagine that a subtle and indefatigable enemy was bringing into position an overwhelming artillery, ready to play upon their tents at the first glimpse of light, upon the only ground where the British troops were exposed to a surprise. It has been stated, that

Sir De Lacy Evans had been long aware of the insecurity of this position, and had pointed out the dangers that threatened. Every one admitted the truth of these representations, and a battery was thrown up with sand-bags, but no guns were planted in it. The enemy had previously tried the strength of this position in the action of the 26th October; a heavy responsibility, therefore, rested upon those who neglected the necessary precautions which might have saved many lives. The Russians had by this time received large reinforcements, which had arrived in their camp from the north of Sebastopol; extraordinary efforts were made to bring them down in light carts, for which all the resources of the country were employed; and they were even on the heights of Inkermann, whilst the British thought them to be still on the frontier of Bessarabia. Prince Menschikoff resolved, by one grand effort, to force an ill-defended position, which, once carried, would place the allied armies at his mercy.

A little after five o'clock on the morning of the 5th November, Brigadier-General Codrington visited the outlying piquets of his own brigade of the light division, when it was reported to him that "all was well." The Brigadier had only proceeded a few paces when a sharp rattle of musketry was heard down the hill, and in a few moments he turned back to order out his division. The Russians were then advancing in force upon the British lines; their grey greatcoats rendered them almost invisible, even when close at hand. At the same time that the advance of the Russians took place on the British flank, a demonstration was made by the cavalry and artillery, and a few infantry in the valley, against Balaklava, to divert the attention of the French on the heights above, and to occupy the Highland brigade and marines. The Russians had done everything possible to bind victory to their eagles. The two Grand-dukes, Michael and Nicholas, were present to inspire the

troops with redoubled ardour. The common soldiers regard the son of the Emperor almost as an incarnation of the Divine presence. The troops had been blessed by the priests of their church as they went forth on their mission, who assured them that the joys of heaven were freely offered to those who might fall in the holy fight ; and the favours of heaven were largely promised to all who might survive the battles of the heretical enemy. The soldiers had been further stimulated by a liberal supply of "raki," some remains of which were found in their flasks and canteens.

The British in their camp had just begun to struggle with the rain in endeavouring to light their fires for breakfast, when the alarm was given that the Russians were advancing in great force. The men, scarcely half awake, were aroused from their dreams to the stern realities of the battle-field. So sudden was the summons, that the greatest confusion prevailed in the camp. In breathless haste servants opened the tents to call their masters. Staff-officers were galloping about, calling out that the Russians were attacking in force. The morning was so dark and foggy, that the men could scarcely discern each other at a short distance, and the difficulty was to know where was the enemy. Cold mists rose from the valley, and hung heavily upon the plain. Sheltered by the obscurity, the Russians at dawn made a rush upon the advanced posts of the second division on the cliff looking down into the valley. The outposts were driven in upon the camp behind the crest 1,200 yards in the rear. The hill was immediately occupied by the enemy's artillery, and with some heavy guns in position. Their heaviest guns were placed on the highest point, where they remained throughout the day ; their smaller guns were spread down the slope opposite the battery, which sheltered the second division, who were at once exposed to the fire of this formidable artillery. Shots came bounding on—dashing up the earth and stones, and crushing



through the tents, exploding in the misty air with a tremendous noise: thus many men and horses were killed before the enemy could be discerned, and all that was known was that they were attacking in great force. Brigadier-General Pennefather at once got the troops under arms, when they met with a tremendous fire of shell and round shot from guns which the enemy had posted on the high grounds in advance of our right, where they had brought up forty pieces of artillery to bear upon the British batteries. Meantime the alarm having spread through the camps, Sir George Cathcart with the greatest promptitude turned out as many of his division as were not employed in the trenches, and led them against the enemy. Sir George Brown rushed up to the front with his brave fellows of the light division, and as they began to move across the ground they were at once brought under fire by an unseen enemy. The gloomy weather of the morning was unchanged, showers of rain fell through the fogs, and turned the ground into a clammy soil, like a freshly-ploughed field; and the Russians, who had no doubt taken the bearing of the ground ere they placed their guns, fired with but too much effect on the advancing British columns.

While the army was thus in motion, the Duke of Cambridge was not behind hand in bringing up the Guards, under Brigadier Bentinck. These splendid troops, with the greatest rapidity and ardour, rushed to the front on the right of the second division; whilst Sir R. England's division was also under arms as a reserve: only one portion of it was engaged with the enemy ere the fight was over. And now commenced the bloodiest struggle ever witnessed since war cursed the earth: the bayonet was often the only weapon employed in a conflict of the most obstinate and deadliest character. Masses of men maintained the most desperate encounters at the battle of Inkermann with

this weapon alone; bayonet to bayonet with the Russian infantry, who charged the British with incredible fury and determination. (But following the order of battle.) It was now obvious that the design of the enemy was to pass round the edge of the cliff opposite Inkermann, and to turn the British right. The artillery fire had not continued long, before a rush of infantry was made. Crowds of skirmishers advancing through the coppice came on in spite of the case shot from the British artillery which tore many of them to pieces, and passed within the lines almost at the muzzles of the guns, which were planted on one of the small banks of earth, the beginning of an intrenchment. The Russians leapt over it, when two companies of the 55th that had been lying down retreated, firing as they went back, and halted on a French regiment that was coming up the hill. The French, arriving at the crest, were astonished at the fire which they met there; whilst the Russian sharpshooters from the coppice poured in heavy volleys. The French halted, as if about to waver, when the gallant General Pennefather, riding in front and cheering them on, drove the enemy before them. This is, perhaps, as interesting an incident as any of the day, a British general suddenly taking the command of a French regiment, who were content to be led by a British commander; and the greatest importance attached to it, since this was the most critical moment, when the French, under British command, did great service to the glorious results of the day.

The battle of Inkermann was a series of dreadful deeds of daring and sanguinary hand-to-hand fights, and of desperate assaults in glens and valleys, in brushwood glades and remote dells, hidden from all human eyes, and from which the conqueror, Russian or British, issued only to engage fresh foes. The old supremacy of the British bayonet was well maintained. The battalions of the Tzar

gave way before the indomitable British courage. The vapours, fog, and drizzling mist obscured the ground where the contest took place to such an extent as to render it impossible to see what was going on at the distance of a few yards only; the irregular nature of the ground, the rapid fall of the hill towards Inkermann, where the deadliest fight took place, prevented seeing more than a very insignificant part of the work below. It was six o'clock before the head-quarter camp was roused by roll after roll of musketry, and by the sharp report of field guns.

Lord Raglan was informed that the enemy were advancing in force, and soon after seven o'clock he rode towards the scene of action, followed by his staff and several aide-de-camps. As they approached, the volume of smoke, the steady unceasing thunder of guns, rifles, and muskets, told that the engagement was at its height. The shells of the Russians were thrown with great precision so thickly among the troops, that the noise resembled continuous discharges of cannon, and the massive fragments inflicted death on every one within range. One of the first things the Russians did, when the break of the fog enabled them to see the camp of the 2nd division, was to open fire on the tents with shot and large shell: every tent was thrown down, torn in pieces, or sent into the air, while the men engaged in camp duties, and the unhappy horses, tethered up in the lines, were killed or mutilated. Two heavy guns, under Colonel Gambier, were brought to bear upon their fire. The Colonel was severely wounded; but ere those guns had done any execution, there had been a heavy loss of the British troops: their Generals could not see what to do; they could not tell where the enemy was, from what side they were coming, and where they were going. In darkness, gloom, and rain, they had to lead the British lines through thick, scrubby, and thorny brakes, which broke their ranks and

irritated the men, when every pace was marked by a corpse, or a man wounded from an enemy, whose position was only indicated by the rattle of musketry, and the rush of ball and shell.


Sir George Cathcart, seeing his men disordered by the fire of a large column of Russian infantry, which was outflanking them, rode down into the valley, in which they were engaged, to rally them. He rode at their head, encouraging the men, when a cry arose that the ammunition was failing, he coolly said, "Have you got your bayonets?" As he led on his gallant troops, it was observed that another body of men had gained the hill behind them on the right, but it was impossible to tell whether they were friends or foes; the latter was soon proved by a deadly volley being poured by them into the scattered British troops. Sir George cheered his men, and led them back up the hill, but a flight of bullets passed where he rode, and the brave general fell from his horse close to the Russian columns. His men had to fight their way through a host of enemies, and lost fearfully; they were surrounded and bayoneted on both sides, and won their way up the hill with diminished ranks, and the loss of near 500 men. Sir George Cathcart's body was afterwards recovered, with a bullet-wound in the head, and three bayonet-wounds in the body. Colonel Seymour, who had accompanied him, was brutally bayoneted, whilst standing over the body of his chief. In their struggle, where the Russians fought with the greatest ferocity, they bayoneted the wounded as they fell, including Brigadier Goldie, of the 57th Regiment, and several officers. The small work, called "the two-gun battery," was the object of attack, which was held by a strong party of the 55th Regiment. It is said that no less than 40,000 Russians were in the plain below; they moved in open column, with the most beautiful and perfect regularity, their artillery, in particular, excited great attention. Their guns were enormously large, some

of them drawn by eight or ten horses; the ascent from the valley below was so steep, that it had been deemed impossible for the guns to be drawn up it, without its being known to the British. They had, however, managed to get them up during the night; but having to point them in the dark and fog, their shot and shell fell in all directions for some time, whilst they were still cannonading in the rear of Balaklava, which made it impossible to judge which would prove the true and which the feigned attack.

At the same time, all the forts, redoubts, and batteries around Sebastopol, opened with a tremendous roar, which seemed to shake the earth, and the ships in the harbour threw shot and shell on to the slope; the scene at this moment was most awful, the whole camp, except to the sea, seemed to be encircled with fire, as flash after flash lit up the foggy air in all directions. The uproar was perfectly deafening as the British batteries began to reply, and both sides firing shell, increased the noise twofold; the shower of these terrible explosions, which fell into the camp like hail, baffles all description: no place was safe from them, they killed men and tore the tents to pieces, which had been previously considered to be totally out of range; every minute or so the men were compelled to throw themselves on their faces, as the terrible missile came roaring through the air, and pitching within a few yards, sent its fragments humming over the spot where the British soldier crouched close to the earth; for about ten minutes the stunning noise and confusion, and incessant bursting of shells, made the whole place seem perfectly unearthly. The horror of the scene was increased by the obscurity of the morning: at six o'clock the darkness and fog were still thick, and through the heavy air the broad red flashes of the guns and their tremendous reports seemed ten times louder than ever; for all that could be seen or known to the

contrary, the Russian batteries seemed to be within fifty yards of the British on all sides. The troops remained under arms, and did not attempt to move until they knew where the real attack would commence; the firing of musketry was therefore anxiously looked for, which they knew would indicate the place of attack.

It has been already stated that a picquet of the 55th occupied the two-gun battery under cover of the wall. As they still lay there, when the guns ceased, they were enabled to hear what was passing in their immediate neighbourhood. When the noise of an immense body of men was heard advancing upon the battery, the picquet instantly prepared to defend the place; but the battery being without guns, the men were obliged to crowd close to the two narrow embrasures, and fire through them as they best could, the fog preventing them seeing far off; but the noise told too plainly that some 5,000 or 6,000 Russians were at hand, who, the instant they caught sight of the battery through the fog, notwithstanding their exertions of climbing up the hill, dashed forward with wonderful impetuosity. The brave 55th, nothing daunted at the immense disparity of numbers, waited until the Russians closed within ten feet of them, when they gave a tremendous volley, which laid two hundred of the enemy in the dust; and then each man, loading and firing as fast as he could, kept up an incessant discharge of musketry on each Russian as he approached. The Russians halted for a moment; then with wonderful courage they rallied and returned a close, deadly fire. In less than ten minutes they again attempted to storm the battery, and in an instant rushed in over its banks and through its embrasures in overpowering numbers. Then was a moment of desperate struggle, during which the gallant 55th fought hand-to-hand and foot-to-foot with their numerous assailants. It was but a moment, and in the next they had repelled and saved the battery.



But it was in vain that they displayed all their courage; the enemy already outnumbered them by forty to one, and fresh masses were coming up every minute. A perfect semicircle of fire of small arms raged round the battery, and the brave 55th fell by dozens from the want of a proper place to fire from. They were consequently compelled to expose themselves completely at the embrasures before they could return a shot; their numbers diminished every instant, whilst those of the enemy increased. Suddenly the Russians made another charge, and this time with more effect; from every point they swarmed into the battery in irresistible numbers, when the 55th again met them with the point of the bayonet, and driving them back, for a moment seemed as if they would still keep the battery, in spite of the awful odds against them. But at last the mere weight of the enemy's masses began to prevail. The gallant 55th, after two-thirds of their number lay dead around them, retired from the battery, and prepared to make the most desperate resistance they could: they fell back among the bushes, fighting to the last, till they came to another picquet under the wall, which had likewise lost half its men, and were fighting desperately to repel an attack from a column of Russian infantry. The two picquets joined, and for a time held the road against all their assailants, who fell in heaps under the cool murderous fire of the British. But the check to the Russians was only momentary. They had now got from 5,000 to 10,000 men up the heights, and their battery on the hill threw shot and shell among the British with terrible effect.

During the battle Sir De Lacy Evans, who had been sick on board ship at Balaklava, rode up to the field, attended by his aide-de-camp (Boyle). He looked extremely ill, but was as cool and intrepid as he always was in action. A shell bounded from the ground, and passed a foot or two above their heads,

## 294 DESPERATE CONFLICT AT THE TWO-GUN BATTERY.

then exploding and wounding some of those that surrounded him; but the General scarcely turned his head. Many of the men of the 4th division had but just returned from the trenches when the attack of the Russians commenced. They were at once marched to the scene of action, a mile and half distant. Fortunately two divisions came up, and passing the wall, opened a destructive fire on the Russians; who returned it most vigorously, and although they fell in ranks, they never moved their position, nor showed a sign of retreating. They kept their ground in beautiful order, under the most fearful volleys that could be poured upon them; but the moment the 41st and 49th prepared to go in with the bayonet, they dispersed, and then the gallant British recovered once more the two-gun battery, driving out the enemy like sheep; but their advantage was only temporary, for the instant the men were in the battery, the Russian artillery, from the top of the hill, threw shot and shell into the very centre of our troops, cutting them down by files. The enemy's infantry at the same time rallied, and swarming up the hill, poured in such a terrific fire of musketry, that the British regiments were again compelled to retire down the hill, and defend the wall along the front road. Then the British artillery came hotly into the fight, and turned the fortune of the day, the two-gun battery was again captured by the British, by a bayonet charge of the 47th and 20th regiments. In less than a minute the Russians were driven out with fearful slaughter, yet hardly were they cleared of the battery than they rallied again, and again occupied the two-gun battery for a few moments. Their term of possession, however, was brief; the British dashed up at it, and literally massacred all in the place. The battery itself, and all its approaches, were covered with corpses and wounded.

But once more the 26th and 47th retreated from the



two-gun battery, when the British guns were advanced to the wall near the post-road ; both parties then commenced a tremendous cannonade, and from this time till eight o'clock it was a mere artillery battle. When the Guards came into action, they consisted of three battalions only, or about 1,200 men ; the Coldstreams bore the thick of it, they charged and broke their way through the Russians, estimated at 6,000 men. The moment the Guards had taken possession of the battery the enemy redoubled their efforts to retake it. Fresh regiments came up the hill, and threw themselves into the battery from all points, but the Coldstreams held their ground, fighting with desperation. The battery was now completely encircled in front, flank, and rear, when every man gave himself up for lost, and determined to sell his life as dear as possible. Three times did the Russians throw themselves round it, and by the mere weight of their masses they surmounted and crossed the walls, yet each time they were driven back again. The *mêlée* was frightful, for so close were the combatants that, after once firing, there was no time to load again ; the men then charged with the bayonet, or beat each other down with the butt-end of their muskets. Each time that the Russians were repulsed they left heaps of dead behind, and it was over the corpses of their comrades that they advanced each time to the attack. All this time the Coldstreams stood alone, only 500 strong, keeping at bay nearly 7,000 of the Russian troops ; they did not abandon the place whilst a hope remained of defending it successfully. They then charged out in a body on the enemy in their rear, leaving eight officers and nearly 200 men killed and wounded behind them. All the wounded were instantly bayoneted by the Russians ; some of the officers' bodies were found with as many as 20 bayonet wounds in them, and their skulls completely smashed with the butt-end of the musket. Amongst the officers so served was Sir


Robert Newman; he had been severely wounded and could not therefore follow his comrades in the retreat: on their return they found that he had been stabbed to death by the savage enemy. The Coldstreams fought their way to where the Fusiliers and Grenadiers were coming up to their assistance; the three battalions, which did not then muster 1,000 men, tried to charge up to where the Russian artillery was firing, but it was a useless attempt, since the enemy had 35,000 men upon the British right flank; this handful of Guards drove the Russian regiments back at the point of the bayonet, but in the act of doing so they could with difficulty extricate themselves. All this time the regiments under the wall had been keeping a number of the enemy at bay; behind this wall the Guards rallied and formed as if on parade to meet the enemy, who were coming down from the two-gun battery on the British right flank, and in rear of the wall in tremendous force: the conduct of the Coldstreams will immortalize their fame—they fought literally to the death. The Grenadiers and Fusiliers also performed prodigies of valour; the Coldstreams charged the enemy at the point of the bayonet eleven times. At each time the Russians crossed bayonets and fought fiercely, but were slaughtered like sheep by the brave Coldstreams. Of the whole brigade of Guards, having about 1,600 men engaged, they lost 13 officers killed, 15 wounded, and 580 rank and file “hors de combat.” The Duke of Cambridge was always at the head of the Guards: where they were to go, he led them; he escaped almost by miracle, after running the gauntlet of the whole Russian fire, escaping with a shot through the sleeve of the coat, and a horse killed under him.

During this terrific struggle with the enemy, who were bringing up fresh battalions every instant, a welcome sight offered itself to the brave British troops. On the crest of the hill the well-known uniform of the Zouaves was seen coming on at a

“*pas de charge*,” flanking the valley; and before the enemy had recovered from their surprise, General Bosquet’s division, consisting of 5,000 troops, came up to the aid of the British on the right, and passing at once over the crest, threw themselves into the combat, fighting side by side with the British regiments; when together they pressed the Russians back by incessant volleys of musketry, making frightful havoc in their ranks. Some French cavalry moved up at the same time; but the ground was unfit for this arm of the service, and they were withdrawn, having lost some men and horses. Some British guns were now brought to bear upon the enemy with great effect; two iron 18-pounders which were placed in position, and their fire directed with admirable coolness and judgment by Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson. In a short time many of the Russian guns were disabled, and were compelled to be withdrawn, but between these two tremendous conflicts of artillery the conflict was most awful. The Russian fire began to slacken about noon, but after a time they opened again, but not with their accustomed fierceness. A fierce desultory combat of skirmishers went on in the coppice; regiments and divisions, French and English, were here mixed together, and fought hand to hand with the common enemy, who never again succeeded in advancing or obtaining in any part of the field even a partial success. The English and French troops drove them down the hill, when the whole Russian force passed across the Tchernaya, pursued by the fire of a French battery, supported by two battalions, which being pushed forward to a summit of the hills commanding the causeway across the marsh, converted the retreat into a flight; but although under the hot fire of the allied troops, they never showed the least sign of trepidation or disorder. On the contrary, they formed in the most beautiful order, altered their front so as to meet the attack of the French, and extending their line to the left,

prepared to resume their attack upon the English, who, throwing themselves headlong upon the enemy, charged them with the bayonet, when four British regiments and six or seven Russian regiments were stabbing, beating, and springing at each other in the most fearful manner. The Russians now boldly charged with the bayonet likewise; but at length they gave way. The French behaved nobly, and it was awful to see them charging the enemy's flanks, making hundreds killed and wounded at every charge. By half-past two o'clock the great mass of the enemy had fallen back, leaving from 7,000 to 8,000 dead on the field. It is said that neither of the Grand-dukes Michael or Nicholas was on the field; they remained all day on the slopes of the hills on the north side of the harbour beyond Inkermann. The pursuit of the enemy continued till six o'clock, and about 500 prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. No guns or trophies were taken on either side, and the enemy withdrew his shattered battalions in steady order under the shelter of the batteries.

This great battle of Inkermann was sustained by 5,000 English troops alone, until the French troops came up, and the whole number of the British engaged in it did not exceed 8,000, and that of the French 6,000 men. The extraordinary valour of the defenders of their position set at nought the confident expectations of the Russians that they should win the day. On the part of the British it was a confused and desperate struggle. Colonels of regiments led on small parties and fought like subalterns, captains like privates, all depended on personal valour; every man was his own general. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed in broken tumultuous billows; the combat of infantry was a proof of skill, strength, and courage. Never perhaps had the artillery fire been concentrated for so long a time on so confined a space; the whole front of the battle-field, from the



ravine on the left to the two-gun battery on the right, was about three-quarters of a mile. There were nine hours of close fighting; the slaughter of the enemy had been so immense that there was no exultation on the part of the victors, but a gloom hung over them as they surveyed the Russian corpses strewn the ground like autumn leaves. In the coppice every bush had a man, and in some places small groups of bodies lay heaped together, showing the desperate conflict which had ensued from the hand-to-hand fight. The ground was literally covered with the dead and wounded, the path was slippery with blood, the brushwood was broken down and encumbered with dead. The scene from the battery was awful beyond description: within a very short compass from the wall above the Inkermann Valley lay 5,000 dead bodies. The British dead were nearly as numerous as the enemy's; across the pathway lying side by side were five guardsmen, who were all killed by one round shot as they advanced to charge the enemy. They lay on their faces, in the same attitudes, with their muskets tightly grasped in their hands, and all had the same grim frown on their features, like men who were struck down in the act of closing with their foes. Beyond this the Russian guardsmen and line regiments lay as thick as leaves, intermixed with dead and wounded horses. The well-known bearskin of the Guards, the red coats of the Infantry, the bright blue of the French Chasseurs, revealing each a silent horror in the glades, and marking the spot where stark and stiff a corpse lay distorted on the grass, pointed out the scenes of the bloodiest contests. The dull cold eye, the tranquil brow, the gently opening lips, which had given escape to the parting spirit as it fled from its bleeding shell, showed how peacefully a man may die in battle pierced by the rifle ball. The British and the French, many of whom had been murdered by the Russians as they lay wounded, wore terrible frowns on their faces

with which the agonies of death had clad them. All the men who exhibited such signs of agony had been bayoneted; the dead men who lay with a smile on their lips had been shot. The Russians, groaning and palpitating as they lay around, were by far the most numerous; some of these were placed together in heaps that they might be the more easily removed; others glared on you from the bushes like wild beasts as they hugged their wounds; some implored in an unknown tongue, but in accents not to be mistaken, water or succour, holding out their shattered limbs or pointing to the lacerating ball; the sullen angry scowl of some of them was frightful, fanaticism and immortal hate spoke through their angry eyeballs.

Litter-bearers, French and English, dotted the hill-sides, now toiling painfully up with a burden for the grave, or with some subject for the doctor's care, now hunting through the bushes for the dead or dying. One of the party comes forward, raises the eyelid if it be closed, peers into the eye, shrugs his shoulder, says quietly, "he's dead—he'll wait!" and moves back to the litter; others pull the feet, and arrive at the same conclusion by this process. The dead were generally stripped of all but their coats. The camp followers from Balaklava carried off all they could take from the field; groups of them were digging away along the hill-side; they dug a yawning trench, thirty feet in length, and there packed together some thirty or forty corpses. The bodies lay as close as they could be packed; some with upraised arms in the attitude of taking aim, their legs sticking up through the mould, thrown upon them; others twisted and bent into different shapes, where they were left "alone in their glory." Upwards of 2,000 Russians were buried in this way.

Colonel Cunningham and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilbraham rode towards the spot to superintend the operations, when immediately a shell crashed into the hill-side from the Russian guns, where the men

were actually engaged in burying their dead, although Lord Raglan had sent in the morning a flag of truce to say that his men were so employed. If the Russian authorities sanction such acts as these, the contest will assume the worst characteristics of barbarian warfare, nor will it be possible to treat their men as civilized beings if they can permit their savage soldiery to murder the wounded, and can allow their gunners to fire on men employed in the sacred duty of burying the dead. The kindness and attention of the British soldiers to their wounded helpless enemies were beyond all praise: they brought them water, put knapsacks under their heads, and borrowed blankets in which to cover them from the raw night air; but to many such kindness came too late. Those who were shot through the head or lungs gasped out existence in painful sobs, or terminated it in horrible convulsions. The wounds were frightful: some had their legs blown off, others were headless, and the brains of many had actually dropped out of the immense holes made by the Minié bullets, leaving the head empty. Sir George Brown was struck by a shot, which went through his arm and struck his side. Large trenches were dug in the ground for the dead. The Russians lay apart; the French and English were laid side by side. The ghastliness of the dead and dying is described as the most horrible sight; some with upturned faces and limbs composed, except where some stiffened arm or hand remained pointing upwards. The faces and hands of the slain assume immediately after death the appearance of wax or clay; the lips parting show the teeth, the hair and moustache become frowzy. Down the ravine along which lies the Woronzoff road, the dead horses were dragged and laid in rows. A lime-kiln about ten feet square, built into the side of the hill, afforded a ready-made sepulchre for the enemy left on this part of the field, and was filled with bodies to the top, on *which a layer of earth was then thrown.*

The Russians behaved with barbarous cruelty to the wounded British soldiers; every fallen man was bayoneted, and it is to be feared that this Russian barbarity provoked them to give no quarter; their wounded, the moment they fell, would throw down their arms, and calling themselves Christians, beg for mercy; if they were saved, they would sometimes take up the musket and shoot the man who spared them. The prisoners all smelt strongly of raki, and in going over the field, bottles were found containing spirits. The Russian army were primed with drink, whereas most of the British went into battle without their breakfasts; many of the wounded enemy were dying for want of assistance, they had not even a drop of water, and their moaning was horrible.—The British were brought so suddenly into action, that they had no time to take off their grey coats, in which they had been bivouacing; it was, consequently, very difficult to distinguish them from the enemy, who were similarly attired. Generals Adams and Bentinck and General Canrobert were likewise wounded. Lord Raglan's escape seems wonderful; he was with his staff in front of the troops, and in the very thickest of the fire. So hot were the cannonade and musketry around them, that an eight-inch shell came hissing and roaring along the ground, and passed right between the legs of his Lordship's horse, and exploded behind him; they were, for a moment, covered with dust and smoke, but fortunately remained unhurt. Right glad were some of the battered British soldiers to obtain some of the more substantial clothing of the conquered. Some bodies were completely stripped of their stout boots, which seemed to find special favour in the soldiers' eyes.—The Turks were under arms, but were not brought forward. The French, on pursuing the enemy with the bayonet, entered Sebastopol with them; had this attack been supported, possibly a part of the town might have fallen into the hands of the Allies. The cavalry was

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brought up for action, but the hollow nature of the ground, covered as it was with bushes, rendered their services impossible.

The moment the battle of Inkermann was over, attention was given to the wounded of both armies, but the Russian ships in the harbour had the barbarity to shell the British, whilst they were occupied in the generous task of attending to their own people. The field of battle by moonlight is thus described: "Small groups of men, with hospital-stretchers, were searching for those who were yet alive; and others, again, with lanterns, busily turning over the dead, looking for the bodies of officers who were known to be killed, but who had not been found. There were English women whose husbands had not returned, hurrying about with loud lamentations, turning the faces of the dead to the moonlight, and eagerly seeking for what they were afraid to find; these latter were far to be more pitied than the inanimate forms of those who lay slaughtered around. The ambulances, as fast as they came up, received the loads of sufferers, and even blankets were employed to convey the wounded to the rear. Outside the batteries, the Russians lay two or three deep: the place was literally full with the bodies of the Guards; their fine tall forms could be distinguished at a glance through the grey coats stained with blood. They lay as they fell, in heaps, sometimes over three or four Russians, sometimes a Russian over three or four of them. Some had passed away with a smile on their faces, and seemed as if asleep; others were horribly contorted, and with distended eyes and sullen features, appear to have died in agony, but defying to the last; some lay as if prepared for burial, as though hands of relatives had arranged their mangled limbs; whilst others again were almost in startling positions, half standing or kneeling, clasping their weapons, or drawing a cartridge: many

lay with their hands extended towards the sky, as if to avert a blow, or to utter a prayer. The moonlight imparted an unearthly paleness to their forms; and as the cold damp wind swept round the hills, and waved the boughs above their upturned faces, the shadows gave a horrible appearance of vitality, and it seemed as if the dead were laughing, and about to rise from the bloody field. Russian officers, as well as men, prowled about the field, stabbing the not yet dead, robbing them of their epaulettes, watches, rings, and even their trousers and boots: it is said that a Russian major was caught in the very act.\*

The following is a description of the battle-field, by the Rev. George Lawless, Assistant Chaplain to the 2nd division:—"Oh what a sad spectacle was now before my eyes, groups every moment increasing of wounded men and officers of the several regiments, spread upon the ground, their respective surgeons, with gory hands, busily and anxiously performing their labours; many of the poor sufferers consoling themselves, as they best could, for the loss of the shattered parts that had just been amputated; others clamouring to have a tortured limb cut off, but the great majority making little of their own wounds by comparison with the worse cases which they saw around them; many a one seemed to have "an ear to hear," and joined fervently in prayer; some, that if spared, they may realize the blessing of "entering into life, maimed;" several, while conscious that their wound was mortal, exhibited the greatest patience under agony, and expressed meek, humble, but hearty faith in their Lord and Saviour; besides the triumphal scene before my eyes, each moment brought to the ear some sad tidings of killed or wounded.

"Captain Carpenter of the 4th, was dreadfully wounded; he received me most warmly, and ap-

\* Letter from a British officer.

peared quite aware of the danger he was in, and gave utterance to a long and fervid prayer: he died the following day. Poor Major Dalton was pierced through the stomach; he was very weak, and expressed great anxiety about his poor wife and children; he joined fervently in prayer, casting his care upon God, and declared his trust in the Saviour; he was calm and resigned; he did not survive many hours. I found poor Colonel Blair in great pain, and breathing with extreme difficulty, not expecting to survive during the night; he had been wounded through the stomach, and was in deep concern for his soul, and timidly anxious to lay hold of the hope for sinners; he joined earnestly in prayer. Oh, how solemn to witness the soul's anxieties in its last ebbing moments, and how anxious the ministerial task (on so sudden a call), to guard against a false peace, and yet not withhold the promise of perfect peace through Christ! The whole of the 6th was occupied in funerals. I had seen and prayed with Captain Conolly the Thursday morning after he received his wound; he warmly but humbly expressed his confidence in the Saviour; he was in excruciating pain, which he bore calmly."

The loss of the British army was estimated at 102 officers and 2,500 men "*hors du combat*;" that of the French was 48 officers and 1,300 men killed and wounded; and that of the Russians is estimated at 10,000 placed "*hors du combat*,"—in all some 12,500 lay killed on this extensive field of battle. Six of the British guns were at one time in possession of the enemy, but only for a few moments, and their retreat was accelerated by their execution—by eight in the evening the wounded were lying on comfortable beds of hay, and had their wounds dressed; and from all regiments of the army, volunteers arrived in numbers to attend the suffering. On the following day the Russians despatched a flag of truce to bury their dead. On the same day, the

6th November, Lord Raglan attended the funerals of General Sir G. Cathcart, Brigadier Goldie, and General Strangways: the remains of these brave men, with eleven other officers, were buried on Cathcart Hill. At the same time, fourteen officers of the Guards were interred together, near the Weird Mill: the work of burying the dead, and carrying the wounded to Balaklava, occupied the whole of that day.

## CHAPTER VII.

It was about the middle of October that the most alarming accounts began to be received from Bala-klava of the sufferings of the British troops in the camp, not from disease only, but from the want of the mere necessaries of clothing, food, fuel, &c. The public journals teemed with reports, both "horrible and heart-rending," contained in letters from private individuals on the spot, totally unconnected with the army or the camp. These accounts excited the greatest alarm in England; for that enthusiastic fervour for the war which had wafted the army, as it were, into their present position, did not subside to leave them to perish in it. On the contrary, both public and private demonstrations of a national feeling almost unprecedented of sympathy and help poured into the public journals. On Friday, October 13, the 'London Gazette' gave notice of "a Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund," appointing more than a hundred members, nobles and commoners, to carry it into effect. "Whereas through the glorious successes which, through the favour of Almighty God, have attended our arms during the present war, many soldiers, sailors, and marines serving in our armies and fleets have gallantly fallen in battle or by other casualties during war, and many who shall hereafter be engaged in conflict or in the further prosecution of hostilities, may also nobly sacrifice their

lives in our service while protecting the invaded liberties of our ally and repressing the lawless ambition of our enemies, we do by these presents ordain that this our Commission shall be carried into full force for administering the contributions which the public may generously and benevolently supply. Dated Balmoral, October 7th, 1854."

Her Majesty generously headed the list with a contribution of 1000*l.*, and the Prince-Consort followed with another for 500*l.* The most munificent subscriptions immediately poured in. Amongst others we may notice—"the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, 2000*l.*; the Corporation of London, 2000*l.*; East India Company, 1000*l.*; Goldsmiths' Company, 1000*l.*; Grocers' Company, 1000*l.*," &c. &c. On the 2nd November a large meeting of the merchants and bankers of the city of London was held in the Egyptian-hall, Mansion-house, when, after many long and patriotic speeches, the sum of 16,000*l.*, was subscribed in the hall. Public meetings were held in all the principal cities and large towns of the kingdom; the professions of sympathy with the poor suffering soldiers were most profuse, and the subscriptions to their aid most liberal. In the course of three months the subscriptions to the Patriotic Fund amounted to half a million.

We will now notice the minor sluices by which dribblets poured into the large stream of public sympathy for the alleviation of the poor soldiers, and some of them are very amusing, particularly that of a "Liveryman," who proposed, through the columns of the 'Times,' that his company should give up two of their annual dinners out of the seven, to the sufferers in the Crimea, a gastronomic sacrifice of no small account to a liveryman, scarcely to be appreciated, perhaps, by the multitude; that the two dinners were to be actually conveyed to the troops in a substantial form, was not specified, but the presumption is that

the "dinners' worth" was intended. Mechanics in their workshops subscribed their day's wages; soldiers in barracks their day's pay. The patriotic feeling sunk deep into every class, which enhanced the gifts and ennobled the givers. Proprietors of theatres gave patriotic fund benefits. The fine generous feeling of English sympathy was never perhaps more enlisted in any cause than that of relieving the sufferings of the brave British army on the heights of Sebastopol.

But there were yet other channels by which this was to be demonstrated. Sir Robert Peel addressed a letter to the editor of the 'Times' on the subject, recommending that every exertion should be made to relieve the soldiers' sufferings, and to supply them with such comforts as did not come within military regulations, enclosing a cheque for 400*l.* as part of a special fund for that purpose. This was rapidly followed by other sympathisers, and in less than a fortnight the sum of 10,000*l.* was sent in to the 'Times' office to be thus appropriated. It was then proposed that a commissioner should be sent out to Scutari to administer necessaries and comforts to the sick and wounded in the hospital at that place, and that liberal corporation, the 'Times,' sent one of their own staff for the purpose, who was empowered to act with the advice and to be guided by the principal English merchants at Galata, considered to be the best informed on these subjects. The commissioner was sent out at the 'Times' expense, which they offered as their portion of the subscription. It may seem astonishing when we revert to the mere necessaries which the commissioner found himself called upon to supply, to find such things as linen for bandages, lint, and other common hospital appliances required, of which the sick were totally destitute, occasioned by the gross neglect of the medical staff, which ought to have seen to these ordinary requisites. There never was a fund, perhaps, in proportion to its amount,

which conferred an equal benefit, nor could any be more justly and seasonably bestowed than the 'Times' fund; so much so, that a further appeal was made, and a further sum of 5000*l.* subscribed!

The "Patriotic Fund" was followed by many collateral funds for specific objects, principally for the relief of the wives, widows, and orphans of the brave army, of whom it was said, "Its deeds cannot be outdone; the army of the Crimea may add to its glory gained on that day—it cannot eclipse them." But beyond temporal alleviations, the public sympathy was aroused towards their spiritual destitution, and it was proposed that their wants, both temporal and spiritual, should be made known by the clergy from their pulpits throughout the United Kingdom. On the 24th October a meeting was held by the clergy and laity at the house of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," when the Bishop of London opened the proceedings. The Right Rev. Prelate stated that "the number of chaplains attached to the army being so very inadequate to the urgent necessities of the war, it is recommended that, without delay, as many clergymen, as the funds placed at the disposal of the Society will admit, may be appointed to this work of piety and charity by the agency of an authorised clergy, the limited clerical staff of the army being quite inadequate to its wants." "If any people on the earth require clerical attendance, it is surely the wounded who are lingering between life and death. Soldiers have souls, and on a death-bed may be supposed to be peculiarly open to religious impressions: the military hospital is just the place."

We will now glance at another subject, connected particularly with the suffering wounded soldiers in the hospital at Scutari. (It should first be mentioned that the French had sent out 500 Sisters of Mercy to wait upon their wounded; this probably gave the suggestion to follow the example by some ladies in



England.) And now we have to record a most notable instance of female philanthropy, which will ever adorn the pages of history. A lady of singular endowments, both natural and acquired, understanding and speaking fluently several modern languages, of large travel attainments, having reached the Nile to its remotest cataract,—her gentle nature had ever been absorbed in the sufferings of others—she had a yearning affection for her kind: a sympathy with the weak and the oppressed—graceful, feminine, rich, and popular—this young female would come out from the bosom of her family, where she had been nursed with the greatest tenderness, to relieve the suffering, the desolate, and the destitute, particularly in hospitals. She went into Germany for the purpose, where she remained for three months, in daily and nightly attendance, in all the duties and labour of female ministrations. She subsequently placed herself at the head of the Governesses' Institution, taking there the hospital department—spending her time amidst nurses and physic, until her health gave way, and she was obliged to retire to the country for a time. Here her gentle nature was wounded by the accounts of the sufferings of the sick soldiers in the hospitals at Scutari. She resolved at once to head a party of nurses, and immediately to proceed to the scene of sufferings—coming out from the bosom of her family to encounter the horrors of war, yet she shrunk not: she felt an enthusiastic desire to alleviate these sufferings; and this sensitive, highly-endowed young woman is now rendering her ministrations to the sick, the dying, and the convalescent at Scutari. (Miss Florence Nightingale, the youngest daughter of William Shore Nightingale, Esq., of Embley Park, Hampshire.)

We will not follow the fair philanthropist in her arduous duties—in her watchfulness of the sick—of her soothing the dying—of being mixed up in scenes which, appalling to nature, can only be sustained by

the purity of her mind, bringing peace and consolation to alleviate sorrow and anguish. Nor must we forget the sacrifice which she has made to enter upon such onerous duties ; amongst others, that of quitting her family circle, which her taste and talents made her so fitted to adorn. The condition and sufferings of the wounded in the hospital at Scutari partly arose from the inefficiency of the medical staff, not only from their deficient numbers, but from their almost utter destitution of necessaries. The arrangements were still worse for conveying the wounded from Balaklava to the hospital. They were crowded into vessels by hundreds, unprovided with any proper appliances, and were left to suffer or perish from the want of medical assistance. The hospital itself was well selected, admirably fitted for its purpose, and capable of containing 4,000 patients.

The want of medical men was brought before the public ; when it was proposed that a steamer should be fitted out by subscription, to convey medical practitioners to be selected by the Royal College of Surgeons, who should be instructed to place themselves, in the first instance, at the disposal of the officers in charge of the wounded at Scutari. A clergyman or two might be also sent to the assistance of the few chaplains to the army ; and there were at once fifty young men ready and willing to offer their services to start for the army in the East at a moment's notice.


The siege of Sebastopol, after the battle of Inkermann, proceeded according to the customary monotony of sieges day after day ; the gunners at intervals exchanged shots with those of the enemy, and sometimes, shortly after dark, the Russians would commence a sharp cannonade, chiefly directed against the French. The fortress was one vast battery, bristling with cannon for miles ; the houses all loopholed for musketry ; the windows had been taken out, and sand-bags put in, whilst every street

was swept by a gun at its head. The sorties of the Russians were frequent upon both the French and English batteries, for which the ground was favourable, being intersected by ravines; so that with a little caution the enemy could creep along and come within a few yards without being discovered; the result was generally the loss of a few men only on both sides.

We have the following sketch of "life in the trenches" from an officer:—"After a laborious and exciting day of such fatigue as renders even rest in a tent acceptable, you retire in all the great coats you possess, to lie upon the ground in the ambiguous state of sleep. You pass four or five hours away, when suddenly you feel a slight convulsion of the earth, followed a few moments after by the deep boom of a gun, and then there comes the roar of a shell screaming through the air, until it falls with a heavy thump outside the line of tents. Here, after remaining for a moment, it explodes, and the pieces go whirring in the air. Eight or ten more shells drop about the same place, and then five or six guns begin to make a roar. Still the camp is quiet, and the guardsman says 'All's well.' The cannonade continues, and after two or three temporary gusts, breaks out into a regular storm. Shells pour over the hill, and fall into the wet soil, and you begin to see dimly the flashes of the explosions through the canvas of your dwelling. Still the Allies make no sign of turning out, although the cannonade gets hotter every moment. In another minute you can plainly hear the sharp report of a musket, followed quickly by another and another. Then the roll of the drums in the distance tells you that the French are beating to arms. All the bugles begin to blow the 'Assemblée'—there is a moment of confusion—then comes a rattle and coarse murmur, and you know that 10,000 men are under arms, and falling into their ranks. During all this time the fire of mus-

ketry has been unceasing, and coming nearer. The crackling of musketry, and little flashes on the hills above Sebastopol, soon tell which way to take. You pass the battery of artillery, and cutting across the camp, ascend the hills just as you hear the guns begin to rumble after. The brigades march forward in lines with supports in open column. The Russians have fired 'to try us,' and their skirmishers advanced to see if we were on the alert; as if not, they would have spiked the guns; but now they retire content with having turned us out and harassed us for nothing. In about half-an-hour the Russians cease from firing; then the troops, by this time thoroughly benumbed with cold and dew, return within cantonments, having been under arms about an hour. Within a minute after they have piled arms, the men are stowed away in their tents, and the camp is as quiet as if there had been no enemy in existence."

The Russians have about 240 guns on their new works, and a constant cannonade goes on from morning to night. They fire about 60 guns per hour. It is said that the Governor of Sebastopol offered a free pardon to all the convicts in the place who would enter the French lines and spike the guns. Two hundred men presented themselves, and were led on by four officers, who also volunteered for this hazardous service. The party moved out in the dead of the night: they encountered a French advance picquet, which failed to stand its ground; when they proceeded to spike a number of mortars. Having succeeded in their operations on two of them, they were resolutely attacked by a relief, which drove them out, killing some and taking prisoners two of the officers. A great deal of damage has been done in Sebastopol wherever the guns of the Allies were brought to bear. Sorties were frequently made by the Russians upon the batteries of the Allies. On one occasion the troops were drawn out to hear a general order read. A prayer of thanksgiving and "Te Deum" was then



solemnly chanted in the great church; and after a distribution of extra grog to the troops, they became so enthusiastic, that General Gortschakoff took advantage of the moment to make an attack upon the British positions. The Russians went up to the right that leads to the Inkermann ruins, a city of the dead and gone; where houses and pillared mansions and temples have been hewn out of the solid rock by a generation whose very name the daring antiquaries have not guessed at. The Russians planted guns along those ruins, and at night the light of their fires was seen glimmering through the windows and door-places from the chambers carved out from the sides of the precipice, near which place was encamped the 2nd division, under Sir De Lacy Evans. The Russians advanced in three columns of 1,500 men each, and drove in the small picquet in the ruins. Their left stretched down towards the Sebastopol road. Their advance was made in great order, under cover of their guns, but they quailed before the fire of the British, whose artillery poured in upon them volleys of grape and shot, committing dreadful havoc. Their disorder increased, and then a general panic ensued—they were pursued almost down to the trenches of Sebastopol. Their loss was 500 killed and wounded, the British lost only 70 killed and wounded. Several trophies were taken, such as drums, trumpets, and colours. Prince Gortschakoff was severely wounded.

The most frightful storm occurred in the Black Sea on Wednesday, the 14th November. The tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven o'clock in the morning, and in two hours eleven transports had been wrecked, and six dismasted and rendered unfit for service. The new magnificent steam-ship 'Prince,' which had arrived only a few days before with the 46th Regiment, and a cargo valued at 500,000*l.*, was lost. Of her crew of 150, only six were saved. This splendid vessel, of 2,700 tons, was purchased by

Government some time since, and sent out full of most valuable stores and munitions of war. The cargo was lost, since, with the exception of the troops, everything remained in her at the time she was dashed on the rocks. In the camp, the tempest was scarcely less fearful. Men and officers walking about drenched to the skin—the tents all blown down—the French hospitals broken by the gale, leaving the wounded exposed to the sleet and rain. So strong was the blast, that the monastery of St. George was shaken to its foundation, and much damaged—some of its iron gates flung down, and pieces of stone wall and iron roofing carried away like pieces of paper the distance of a mile. At Eupatoria they suffered more from the storm than even at the Katcha. In front lay stranded the remains of five French merchant-vessels, and many others were similarly wrecked. The enemy took advantage of the gale by advancing on Eupatoria, with about 6,000 cavalry and 12 field-pieces. They were, however, received with such a heavy fire, that they retreated with the loss of about 100 killed and wounded, whilst the loss of the British amounted to only two men wounded.

We have accounts from the camp to the end of November, of the inclement weather, and the sufferings of the brave troops, partly on this account, and partly from being unable to obtain their supplies from Balaklava, in consequence of the impassable state of the road. The following are extracts from letters written by persons on the spot:—

November 27.—“It is now pouring rain; the skies are as black as ink; the wind is howling over the staggering tents; the trenches are turned into dykes; in the tents the water is sometimes a foot deep. Our men have neither warm nor water-proof clothing; they are for twelve hours at a time in the trenches; they are plunged into inevitable miseries of a winter campaign, and not a soul seems to care for their

comfort, not even for their lives. The men are well fed, but they have no shelter, no rest, and no defence against the weather; the tents are continually drenched by torrents of rain; the wet comes through them 'like sieves,' and they are perfectly useless as a protection against the weather. The horses are in a wretched state, and can scarcely be fed; the mortality amongst them is very great."

"The army is suffering greatly—worn out by night-work, by vigil in rain and storm—by hard labour in the trenches—and are sometimes reduced to short allowance. For nine days they were without the usual issue of tea, coffee, or sugar; and although these may be deemed luxuries, yet they become almost necessities to military life. The cause of the scarcity was the condition of the country, which was saturated by heavy rains, and had become quite unfit for the passage of horses and arabas from Balaklava."

"The cholera again broke out on the night of the 28th of November, and continued its ravages: the number of sick was very great." "It is really shocking work, the trenches are in very bad condition—no attempt at draining them, and the men have to sit for twelve hours in the wet; they have no dry things to put on, the tents leak, and they lie down in the mud. A grand plateau of bog, varying in depth from a foot to two feet, extends from the valley of Inkermann to the sea at Balaklava: it is trodden into holes in every direction by the hoofs of mules, horses, and camels; it is scarred deeply by the wheels of carts and arabas, the tents dotting its whole surface. The few farm-houses, and the snug quarters of Lord Raglan, contrast strongly with the black profound mud, amidst which they rear their straight outline; all over the surface are strewn the carcasses of horses, and miserable animals, torn by dogs and vultures, and smothered in mud. Vultures sweep over the mounds in flocks; carrion-crows and beasts of prey are seen hovering over their prey, menacing the hideous dogs that are feast-

ing below. It is over this ground, gained at last by great toil and loss of life on the part of the toiling beasts of burden, that man and horse have to struggle from Balaklava for some four or five miles with the hay and corn, the biscuit and pork, which form the subsistence of our army: every day, this toil must be undergone to get their daily bread; horses drop exhausted on the road, their loads are removed and added to the burden of the struggling survivors. Then, after a few efforts to get out of the slough, the poor brutes succumb and lie down to die in their place. Men wade and plunge about, and stumble through the mud with muttered imprecations, or sit down on a projecting stone exhausted—figures of dirt or woe unutterable; and sometimes on the route, the overcharged or sickly soldier is seized with sickness, and the sad aspect of a fellow-countryman lying before his eyes shocks every passer-by, the more, because aid is all but hopeless, and almost impossible. Officers, in huge soldiers' boots, purchased at Balaklava for about five times their proper price, trudge on in misery, hoping to be able to carry their supplies to their tents. It requires a soldier's eye to tell captains from corporals, now mounted on draggled tailed and unkemped ragged ponies, covered with mud, with dubiously covered faces and bespattered garments, and eccentric greatcoats and headgear; they are to be seen filing up and down the dirty passes of Balaklava and the camp, carrying out onions, hams, or plucked turkeys, potatoes, Dutch cheeses, bottles of wine and brandy, &c., wearing the air of foreigners, defying privation, neglect, storm or tempest. In the midst of difficulties, they rarely despond, never despair, and animate by their bright examples of courage and valour, the constancy and unflinching resolution of the brave fellows around them." "The siege operations are sometimes completely, sometimes partially suspended. The attack on Sebastopol languished and declined, since neither guns nor am-

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munition could be brought up from Balaklava, and no wonder that our men were sometimes less vigilant in the trenches than they ought to be, after standing twelve hours in a ditch, to which they were sometimes sent out after a scanty meal." "The mortality amongst the Turks has now assumed the dimensions of a plague: every sense was offended and shocked by the display, day after day, in the streets, of processions of men, bearing half-covered corpses on litters at the busiest time of the day, when orders were given that they should bury their dead on the hill side over the town; here they are deposited in shallow graves, only a few inches deep, or with but a shovel full of earth or pebbles upon them, lying as close together as they could be packed. The dead are frightful to look upon, emaciated to the last degree, with their heads and faces swollen and discoloured, and drops of blood stealing down from nose and ears, lying in ranks on the hill side, while the living, who seem ready to follow them, are seen digging their graves; before the body is interred, the clothes are taken off and laid aside, an officer in attendance decently washes the corpse with water, pours a little of the same fluid down the throat, composes the limbs, and after a few words of prayer, the Mussulman is placed beside his fellows."

"You cannot, by any contrivance, imagine the wants, the privations, and the terrible endurance of our poor men. What do you think of that half-starved piece of humanity, with a hayband around his legs to keep his trousers together, with a ragged coat, and with a face that saw soap for the last time when he sailed across the Euxine, to be one of the Guards?" "We have only one blanket to roll around us when we lie down, and our tents, owing to so much rain having fallen, are in a puddle of water; many of the poor fellows have scarcely a bit of shoe to their feet, many others not a shirt to their backs; the consequence is, that the men are dying

quite fast, and the whole of the army is in a very weakly state; the cavalry have lost a great many horses, owing to the shortness of corn, and the severity of the weather."\*

From the battle of Inkermann to the end of December but few events seemed to break the monotony of the siege, while the Russian batteries in and about Sebastopol, kept up an incessant but ineffectual fire, which caused scarcely half-a-dozen casualties in the allied camps. Stillness prevailed throughout the lines of the besieging armies, whilst day after day were passed in the most vigorous efforts to bring up the siege-guns, from Balaklava to the heights. Night after night were spent by the fatigue parties of every regiment in the army breaking ground in front of the Russian forts; and when the daylight enabled the enemy to discover the direction of these forts, a shower of shot and shell was poured in vain over the trenches, and wasted its destructive power upon the hill side. Once or twice an occasional surprise, or an attempted sortie of the Russian army, aroused the whole camp to arms. On one occasion a fatigue party of the British infantry, without arms, lost its way in the works, and marched within the Russian line: there all was silent except the challenge of the sentinel upon the hill, and the pick of the trenching tools against the rugged rocky soil. Great importance was felt by the whole of the allied army that the strong fortress of Sebastopol should be stormed, and if possible carried, by a *coup de main*, but the prudent caution of the Commander-in-chief did not permit any such rash attempt to be made: the sacrifice of life must have been enormous, and considerable doubt was entertained that the fortress if carried would have been tenable. We have shown that its enormous *enceinte* bristled with a thousand guns of heavier metal than those of the besiegers, that every house was loopholed for musketry—every street

\* Morning Herald correspondent.

commanded by a gun—the ground undermined—and such preparations made to repel and to destroy the besiegers, as are perhaps unparalleled in modern warfare. It has been stated by the highest authorities on the subject of sieges, “that precipitation in the conduct of sieges never hastened the fall of the place—often retarded it, and always occasioned unnecessary bloodshed.” Again, “It is a maxim of military engineering that if time and opportunity admit of the process, a fortified town may be taken by the instrumentality of science alone, and that the strongest defences may be possessed without recourse to the bayonet at all, or any necessity for a formal assault; the same skill which carries the besiegers up to the walls of a place will carry them through it, and the daring of the intrepid soldier need never be brought into action.” \*

It was estimated that 138 pieces of heavy artillery were capable of throwing 23,000 shot and shells against the enemy every day.

Sometimes shortly after dark the Russians would commence a sharp cannonade, chiefly directed against the French, and the rattle of musketry would be added to the roll of artillery; then the turmoil would subside—the darkness and stillness would remain as before, except for the flash and the boom of an occasional gun; but very little damage was done by the enemy’s fire. To vary the monotony of the siege from day to day, the gunners at intervals would exchange shots with the enemy, and the French and English sharpshooters in the trenches would fire from their sand-bag loopholes at the Russian riflemen, hid in pits or behind screens of stones, without other result than the loss of a few men on either side.

The redoubts of the French and English were constructed on commanding points; in advance of these other works and batteries were extended to the verge of the heights, looking on the head of the harbour—on the causeway across the marsh—and on the last wind-

\* Vauban.

ings of the Tchernaya. To oppose them the enemy threw up bulwarks on the heights on their side of the valley, and opened fire from the nearest of them, while farther back long lines of intrenchment extended across the hills.

Such being the state of the siege of Sebastopol at the end of the year, we shall have no further occasion to revert to it.

Of the Baltic allied fleet we have to report that the French division, together with General Baraguay d'Hilliers' land forces, returned to Cherbourg on the 3rd October, thus indicating that no further measures would be pursued by them until the following spring. The British fleet still anchored at Kiel, and it was yet another month ere they returned to England. Considerable disappointment was felt by the public that so splendid a squadron had gathered so little glory from their expedition to the Baltic; but beyond the taking of Bomarsund and some minor ports, it must not be forgotten that they had succeeded in establishing a strict blockade of every maritime outlet of the Russian empire; that they had borne their flags to the farthest shores of the enemy; that they had defied the boasted fleet of the great Tzar to come out of its hiding-place, which fleet—twenty-seven sail of the line—was numerically stronger than the allied squadron; that they had, notwithstanding the difficulties of the navigation, preserved their ships from all accident; and we have further shown that these ships, from their enormous bulk, were quite unfitted for the services expected of them; that first-rates were perfectly useless on a sea where gun-boats alone could operate; therefore the services performed by the Baltic fleet have been considerable, although all the boasted anticipations of the brave Admiral have not been realized.

The accounts from the camp to the 16th December, when the winter set in very severely, were of the most disastrous nature; the exposure of the British army had been extremely severe; they had all lost flesh:

their limbs were weakened, their faces yellow with accumulated dirt of many days, having a haggard and care-worn look. Their clothes, which they had not pulled off for weeks past, were much torn; frizzy hair, deep-set eyes, and the feverishness of uncleanness was generally conspicuous amongst them. No one could wash their persons nor their clothes while there was not water enough to drink. One of the officers admitted that he had not washed his hands for a week; and as for washing his face, that was too great a luxury to be thought of. Having landed without baggage beyond what they could carry, they had marched, and fought, and slept in their full-dress coats; the scarlet retaining but little of its original colour, and the gold epaulets with but slight reminiscence of their former splendour. Trousers impregnated with dirt; shoes anything but black; shakos or caps much the worse for wear, and sometimes for tear, and haversac soiled with rations, biscuit, or any small luxury that could be picked up by the way. Some of the Guards of Her Majesty's household brigade were walking about in the snow without soles to their shoes. The poor soldiers had no change of clothes, and were without fuel to light their fires and cook their salt pork, which they were obliged generally to eat in the raw state. The horses of the cavalry were dying from sheer starvation. The cavalry as a force were completely *hors de combat*. (The following letter\* gives a graphic account of Balaklava and the army: "Balaklava is quite a metropolis, indeed it is called *par excellence* 'going to town.' I do not think there is another village in the world which, for its size, could show the same amount of business, excitement, dirt, and misery, as is perpetually going forward in this little collection of huts which all the world is talking of under the name of Balaklava. The harbour is now like the basin of the London Docks, crowded with shipping of all kinds. From one of these vessels at all times

\* Morning Herald correspondent.

of the day supplies are being constantly landed along a flat and dirty causeway; the harbour is crowded with boats and barges of all kinds laden with biscuit, barrels of beef, pork, rum, bales of under-clothing, siege-guns, boxes of Minié ammunition, piles of shell, trusses of hay, and sacks of barley and potatoes. These are landed in the wet, and stacked in the mud, until all the provisions are sufficiently impregnated with both to be unfit for issuing to the men. The motley group that is constantly wading about among these uneatable eatables is something beyond description. The very ragged, gaunt, hungry-looking men, with mottled beard, and features grained with dirt, and torn great-coats with successive layers of mud. These men whose whole appearance bespeak toil and suffering, who remind you of the lowest and most impoverished class of Irish peasantry, are the picked soldiers of our different foot-regiments. Strong men selected to carry up provisions for the rest of the camp; mixed with these are about 200 horsemen, whose lank feeble steeds seem barely able to move about with their riders through the thick tenacious mud. The horsemen themselves are all pretty much alike; they are all ragged and all muddy; yet on examining these men closely you perceive that some have dingy brass helmets on their head, others the small Scotch cap of the Greys. The remnants of red trousers indicate a Hussar, while a head-dress curiously misshapen, indicates a Lancer. From all these facts you suddenly rush to the conclusion that the queer-looking *cortege* is cavalry; or at least all that remains of the nine fine regiments which, two months ago, landed in the Crimea. They formerly had an effective strength of 2,500 sabres, and cannot now mount 200 men in a state fit for even temporary service.

“The Scots Greys are numerically the strongest regiment out here; it mounts 70 men, out of which only 25 men and horses are fit for service in the field.

For some three or four weeks past we have known that our cavalry, as an arm of the service, was no more; that still, as a compliment, it was spoken of as a division, and was therefore a pleasant feeling to believe in. The term 'cavalry' has now no signification. The 15 or 20 remaining out of each regiment are all formed into one corps, and used for carrying biscuit up to the camp. Each soldier leads one horse, which is always such a mass of bones and general dilapidation as would excite the indignation of the most polite of philanthropists—the secretary of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The led horse carries one bag of biscuit, and frequently is unable to bear the weight (80 lbs.) more than half the distance to the camp, when they fall, and get rid of two burdens, their biscuit and their lives together. Among the cavalry stalk all kinds of officers; some mounted, some on foot. The rough, heavy-looking men in tarpaulin coats, sou'-wester caps, and high boots, are generally officers in the Guards; the very "seedy"-looking individuals, with bread-bags tied round their legs, are officers from the Naval Brigade; the mounted men, who most resemble shipwrecked mariners who have stranded somewhere in a mud-bank and waded through it to the shore, are cavalry officers. Among these motley characters gentlemen walk about with great-coats made out of their blankets, by the simple process of cutting a hole in them for their arms. These garments, though primitive-looking, are warm, and to obtain that desideratum, there is nothing that is not worn in the Crimea. Some of the soldiers wear Russian great-coats; others have extraordinary-looking habiliments, made, some how or other, out of the morsels of old sails, the remnants of the wrecks that have drifted in from outside the harbour. Just around the landing-places, or rather what are supposed to act as such, where are crowds of lounging Turks, who concentrate all their feeble energies in purloining a morsel of biscuit from the bags which are piled on

shore. In nine cases out of ten these bungling attempts at petty larceny were detected by the Turkish official, and then the famished Osmanli gets paid over the head with a thick stick. The miseries and sufferings of these Turks are beyond all description; they are now dying at the rate of 300 per diem, in this village alone, of positive starvation. The Turks complain that half of the effective men are employed in burying the rest. Any hollow from which sufficient earth can be scraped to strew over a corpse is considered sufficient. When once the prominent features of the body are covered, the rites of interment are over. The bodies of the Turks are hardly buried before the wild dogs that abound at Balaklava root them up and devour them during the night. These ferocious animals have now become so bold as to collect in crowds around the Turks who are engaged in burying their departed comrades on the hill side, and nothing will drive them away from the spot. The carcasses of at least from 1400 to 1500 horses lie among the tents of the English camp, putrifying and poisoning the air for miles round. No words can give an idea of the stench that prevails in our camp."

The 'History of the War,' which we have brought down to the end of the year, shows that it is the same savage untamable thing that it was from the earliest period; its terrific scenes, its horrid calamities, and its wild adventures range over large masses of combatants, who are brought at the word of command to destroy each other, and Death, that insatiate archer, with his thousands at a meal, seems never satisfied with the sacrifices of war. Who can depict the soldier's hardships of the campaign! the bare ground for his bivouac, the insidious disease, occasioned by suffering—the weary alternation of the wild game of war, when he is liable to be surprised and cut off at a moment's notice! the imminent danger, the scanty food, all producing those scenes of misery which must be experienced to be properly appreciated!



The origin of this bloody strife is perhaps unparalleled in history: "the safe custody of a bunch of keys" and the construction of a phrase in the celebrated Vienna Note, which was intended to pacify all parties—but from causes to effects—these have been most disastrous. By an official return made in the 'St. Petersburg Gazette,' the total losses of the Russian army, in 1854, are given at 111,132 men; taking therefore at a moderate estimate the losses of the Turks and of the allied armies at very little more than this amount, we have a total sacrifice to the Moloch of war in the course of the past year of at least a quarter of a million of men!

Such has been the physical expense, to say nothing of the sufferings of the wounded and maimed survivors; but who shall estimate the bill of costs! To England alone it is supposed to amount to a million sterling per week! and very moderate too when every man landed in the Crimea is said to cost the Government 100*l*. The most prodigal supplies of clothing, food, huts, and other necessaries, were conveyed with facility the distance of three thousand miles; but, strange as it may seem, the remaining seven miles it was found impossible to accomplish; consequently the troops were literally perishing from the want of necessaries, whilst the most abundant supplies rotted at Balaklava! It does appear that, with all the zeal and patriotism which has animated the British Government in the prosecution of the war, that they have miserably failed in its details; that they are so encumbered with official routine, as to render it almost impossible that their orders shall be obeyed; and it does further appear that they are no match for that unity of purpose and promptitude of action which characterizes the war department of a despotic government.

We cannot find from our historical records that there was ever a war undertaken by England with such enthusiasm amongst the people, such abundant supplies, such enormous powers, and an army composed

of "sterner stuff," where every soldier was a hero, and with such miserable results, to this time. Of 50,000 men that have been embarked in this war, the greater part are *hors de combat*. The expedition, which we have before spoken of, was unparalleled in history,—considering the number of ships, their crews, the guns, the power of steam to convey such an army 3000 miles—an agency never before employed on so large a scale—the combination of the two greatest naval and military powers in the world, aided by a feeble ally, to combat another great military power—gave an importance and a grandeur to the undertaking which causes its failure to be more sensibly felt by the generous British nation. Still it is not all failure. The *entente cordiale* has been established with the gallant and chivalrous people of the French nation. The banners of England and France now wave together by sea and land; and we trust that no angry winds will ever separate them. The generous sympathies of the British nation have been enlisted on behalf of their army, gushing out in a thousand springs, some of which we have endeavoured to trace. The costly experience of the past must inevitably lead to glorious results for the future—it is but a question of time. Whether this terrible conflict is to be terminated by the pen or the sword, we trust that, for the sake of humanity, it will be speedily brought to an end. But there is another resource, which seems to have been much neglected—an appeal to the God of armies. What neither the pen nor the sword can bring about, prayer can accomplish; and one day's fasting and humiliation before God may do more than all our boasted expeditions—it may even soften the heart of our indomitable foe, and bring the Russian people once more into happy concord with the community of nations.

# INDEX.

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- AUFICK**, General, French Minister at the Porte, 9.
- Ambassador**, Russian, his demands on the Porte, 10.
- Adrianople**, infraction of the treaty of, 23.
- Anethemor** raised to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 26.
- his address to the Sultan, 26.
- Ambassadors**, French and English, order some steam-ships to pass the Dardanelles, 47.
- Army**, Turkish, the composition of, 56.
- Alkalzik**, battle of, 82.
- Arta** taken by the Insurgent Greeks, 94.
- Army**, British, embarked at Southampton, 118.
- original composition of, 118.
- their losses at the battle of Inkermann, 305.
- aggregate losses to the end of the year, 328.
- Arnaud**, Marshal, St., arrival of, at Constantinople, 120.
- his gallant conduct at the battle of the Alma, 220.
- the death of, 228.
- his last address to his soldiers, 240.
- Auschakoff**, General, Commander of the Russian Armies, 121.
- Anapa**, when taken by the Russians, 144.
- Armament**, a large French, sails for the Baltic, 175.
- Alliance**, intimate, between France and England historically considered, 175.
- Aland Islands**, some description of, 176.
- Alma River**, some description of, 218.
- the battle of the, 213-222.
- departure of the armies from the, 225.
- anecdotes of the battle of the, 241-251.
- Arrow Bay**, the French troops land their siege guns at, 241.
- BENEDOTTE**, M. de, French Minister at the Sublime Porte, 10.
- Brunnow**, Baron de, Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James, 14.
- recalled from London, 90.
- Bujukdere**, a camp formed at, 24.
- Bosphorus**, crowded with shipping, 24.
- Balta Liman**, treaty of, 31.
- Balabin**, M. de, brings the Russian ultimatum to Constantinople, 32.
- Bashi Bazouks**, some description of, 55.
- Besica Bay**, the allied fleets anchored in, 81.
- Bruat**, Admiral, Commander of the French Baltic fleet, 157.
- Baltic Fleet**, departure of, 115.
- difficulties of the, 141.
- operations of the, 155.
- their return to France and England, 322.
- Butler**, Captain, death of, at Silistria, 153.
- Baraguay d'Hilliers**, General, threatens to leave Constantinople, 169.
- Bebokoff**, the Russian General, attacked by the Turks in Asia, 173.

- Bomarsund**, the strong fortress of, in the Aland Islands, 177.  
 — capitulation of, to the allied forces, 178.  
**Bodisco**, the Russian General, surrenders himself, 179.  
**Bucharest**, the Russian troops retreat upon, 183.  
 — **Omar Pasha** enters the city of, 184.  
**Brown**, Sir George, the first Englishman to land in the Crimea, 206.  
 — wounded at the battle of **Inkermann**, 301.  
**Boulouk**, Village, fired by the Russians, 214.  
**Balaklava**, march of the army to, 237.  
 — expulsion of the Greek inhabitants from, 267.  
 — gallant action of, 270-280.  
 — graphic accounts, 323-326.
- COMMISSION OF INQUIRY** ordered by Porte, 8.  
**Constantinople**, great excitement at, 29, 43, 47, 57, 83, 89.  
**Congress** at **Olmütz**, some description of, 51.  
**Citate**, battle of, 58.  
**Council**, Turkish, on the Vienna Note, 79.  
**Castelbouque**, M. de, French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, 91.  
**Caracaski**, the celebrated Greek Chief, 96.  
**Correspondence**, secret, laid before the House of Commons, 103.  
 — confidential, report of, by the Journal of St. Petersburg, 109.  
**Clarendon**, Lord, his opinion of the Vienna Note, 65.  
 — his reply to, 110.  
**Cambridge**, Duke of, his arrival at Constantinople, 120.  
 — his gallantry at the battle of the Alma, 217.  
 — his arrival at **Balaklava**, 238.  
**Convention** between England and France, 140.  
 — **Austro-Turkish**, 163.
- Cronstadt**, some description of, 142.  
**Circassians**, some account of the warfare of the, 171.  
**Caucasus**, the roads through the, 181.  
**Cholera**, frightful scourge of the, at **Varna**, 185.  
**Crimea**, some account of the, 194.  
 — the expedition to, 196; the French first planted their colours in, 205.  
**Campbell**, Sir Colin, gallant charge of, 219.  
 — appointed to the command, at **Balaklava**, 254.  
**Cavalry**, British, their glorious charge at **Balaklava**, 276.  
 — their heavy losses, 278.  
**Cathcart**, Sir George, death of, 290.  
**Camp** accounts to the end of November, 316.
- DJEDDA**, great sensation produced at, 24.  
**Dardanelles**, arrival of the allied fleets at, 25.  
**Danube**, navigation of, impeded by the Russians, 27.  
 — the war pursued by the Turks on the, 183.  
**Dannenberg**, General, takes the command of the Russian army, 69.  
**Dobrukscha**, a marshy district of the Danube, 123.  
**Dzeuzde Otai**, Lord Raglan's head quarters at, 253.  
**Dunkellin**, Lord, taken prisoner by the Russians, 269.
- EFFENDI**, **FUAD**, foreign minister of the Sublime Porte, 11.  
**Embassy**, Russian, members of the, leave Constantinople, 35.  
**Evans**, Sir De Lacy, coming up to the battle of **Inkermann**, 293.  
**Eastern question** historically considered, 66.  
**England** and **France** conclude a treaty with the Sublime Porte, 116.

Eupatoria surrendered to the Allied powers, 204.

FLEET, British, leaves Malta, 25.  
 — French, leaves Toulon, 25.  
 — Egyptian, arrival of, at Constantinople, 43.  
 — the combined, enter the Straits of the Dardanelles, 43.  
 — Baltic, departure of the, 115.  
 Fleets, allied, their arrival at Constantinople, 76.  
 — their approach to the harbour of Sebastopol, 262.  
 — their attack on the fortress, 263.  
 — their losses, 264.  
 — results of the attack, 281.

Firmans granted by the Porte to their Christian subjects, 25.

Friends, deputation of, to the Emperor Nicholas, 98 to 102.

Fatima, the chief of a mountain tribe, 130.

French troops, losses of the, at the battle of the Alma, 220.

Fellowes, Captain, sent to Sebastopol with a flag of truce, 279.

Fund, Patriotic, royal commission for, 307.

GREEK insurrection, 88, 93, 127.

Greek ecclesiastics, their Easter services at Jerusalem, 5.

Greek subjects of the Ottoman empire, some description of, 61.

Gortschakoff, Prince Michael, commander in chief of the Russian forces, 23.

— his proclamation to the inhabitants of the Danubian provinces, 29.

— his reply to Omar Pasha, 53.

— re-crosses the Danube, 121.

Ghika, Prince, Hospodar of Moldavia, 34.

Gallipoli, the allied armies land at, 119.

Giffard, Captain, the death of, 146.

Goldie, General, the death of, 290.

HERIFF PASHA, Commander of the garrison at Constantinople, 80.  
 Hirsova taken by the Russians, 122.

JERUSALEM, holy places at, 2.  
 Joinville, Prince de, visits Jerusalem, 7.

“Irade,” or supreme sanction of the Turks, 164.

Inkermann, the ruins of, 283.

— the battle of, 284-304.

KIANARDJI, seventh article of the treaty of, 7.

Kalafat, Turkish entrenchments at, 86.

Kisseleff, M. de, recalled from Paris, 90.

Kamichila Gailoe, lake of, expedition landed at, 203.

LAVALETTE, M. de, French ambassador at the Porte, 9.

Luders, General, passes the Pruth with the Russian forces, 23.

— constructs a bridge across the Danube to Galatz, 121.

— desperately wounded at the siege of Silistria, 152.

Louis Napoleon addresses a letter to the Emperor Nicholas, 91.

Lempar Island, the allied troops land at the, 177.

Lyons, Sir Edmund, arrives at Balaklava, 239.

Liprandi, the Russian General, brings large reinforcements, 271.

Lawless, the Rev. George, his description of the battle-field, 304.

London, Bishop of, recommending to send chaplains to the British army, 316.

MUSSULMANS, their contempt for the Easter services, 5.

Menschikoff, Prince, his arrival at Constantinople, 11.

— his demands on the Porte, 12.

— obtains an audience of the Sultan, 13.

- Menschikoff, Prince**, his further demands on the Porte, 14.  
 — leaves Constantinople, 16.  
 — his narrow escape after the battle of the Alma, 223.  
 — his carriage captured by the allied troops, 236.  
**Manifesto** issued by the Emperor of Russia, 20.  
 — of the Sublime Porte, 49.  
**"Mogador,"** English steamer, sent to Sinope, 73.  
**Mosques**, Turkish, property of the, confiscated to the State, 126.  
**Mussa Pasha**, Commander of the garrison at Silistria, 150.  
 — the death of, 151.  
**Mackenzie, Dr.**, attending the wounded Russians, death of, 227.  
**Moklar, the Rev. Mr.**, death of, 240.  
**Magazines**, French, explosion of, 261.
- NESSELRODE, Count**, respecting Prince Menschikoff's orders, 11.  
 — attempts to intimidate the Porte, 17.  
 — his circulars to the diplomatic agents, 18, 21, 59.  
 — his despatch to Baron Menzendorf, 39.  
 — his reply to the Anglo-French ultimatum, 117.  
**Nicholas, Emperor**, accounts from St. Petersburg of, 28.  
 — his adhesion to the Vienna Note, 36.  
 — declares war against Turkey, 62.  
 — manifesto of the, 96.  
 — his reply to the deputation of Friends, 100.  
**Note**, collective, signed by the four powers, 45.  
 — Vienna, copy of, 41.  
 — contents of the second, 77.  
**Nachinoff**, the Russian admiral at Sinope, 72.  
 — the death of, 265.  
**Nasmyth, Ensign**, a gallant defender of Silistria, 154.
- Nolan, Captain**, death of, 276.  
**Newman, Sir Robert**, death of, 296.  
**Nightingale, Miss Florence**, philanthropy of, 311.
- OLON, Dr.**, his description of the Easter services at Jerusalem, 5.  
**Ouzeroff, M. de**, Russian minister at the Porte, 10.  
**Omar Pasha** appointed to the command of the Turkish army, 24.  
 — his letter to Prince Gortschakoff, 52.  
 — his history, 53.  
 — crosses the Danube with the Turkish forces, 62.  
**Olmutz**, congress held at, 51.  
**Oath** of the insurgent Greeks, 94.  
**Ottoman empire**, changes introduced into the, 126.  
**Oltenitza**, battle of, 69.  
**Orloff, Count**, his mission to Vienna, 76, 90.  
 — leaves Vienna, 91.  
**Oelamer** organises the Greek insurrection, 93.  
**Odessa** attacked by the allied fleets, 138-140.  
**Otho**, king of Greece, accedes to the demands of the Allied Powers, 160.
- PILGRIMS**, their safe conduct insisted on to Jerusalem, 5.  
**Porte, Sublime**, promises constantly to protect the Christian religion, 7.  
 — their protest to the Russian government, 32.  
 — rejects the Vienna Note, 37.  
 — conciliating their Christian subjects, 61.  
**Powers, Allied**, their conferences for the preservation of peace, 77.  
**Proclamation** of the insurgent Greeks, 94.  
**Prevesa**, threatened by, 94.  
**Press**, public, clamorous about the war, 114.  
**Parliament**, royal messages sent down to both Houses of, 117.

- Paul, Emperor, the last war declared against England by, 118.
- Paskevitch, Prince, takes the command of the Russian armies, 122.
- undertakes the siege of Silistria, 148.
- the emperor writes an autograph letter to, 157.
- Petropaulovski attacked by the allied squadron, 193.
- Peel, Captain, daring bravery of, 260.
- Pennefather, General, leads on a French regiment, 208.
- ROSE, Colonel, British minister at the Sublime Porte, 10.
- Rifat Pasha, foreign minister of the Sublime Porte, 13.
- Redschid Pasha convenes a Turkish national council, 13.
- endeavours to get the second Vienna Note accepted by the divan, 79.
- Russia, public opinion of, at their embroilment with the Porte, 34, 51.
- Russia, Emperor of, the Allies address to the, a formal summons, 92.
- immense preparations making in, for the prosecution of the war, 51.
- Russians, the, finally expelled from the Danubian provinces, 184.
- their flight and losses after the battle of the Alma, 220.
- their retreat after the battle of Inkermann, 298.
- the barbarity of, to the British wounded, 302.
- their first approach to the British lines, 254.
- desperate sortie of the, 315.
- Rudoritz, the province of, in insurrection, 95.
- Russell, Lord John, his speech in the House of Commons on Russian affairs, 103.
- Raglan, Lord, his arrival at Constantinople, 120.
- Raglan, Lord, crosses the Alma, 216.
- his arrival at Balaklava, 233.
- gives orders for opening the siege, 259.
- Redan, Russian battery, blown up, 261.
- SEPULCHRE, Holy, partially destroyed by fire, 4.
- Star, silver, removed from the church at Bethlehem, 8.
- Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, his letter to Lord Palmerston, 8.
- his report of the departure of the Russian ambassador, 16.
- his opinion of the Vienna Note, 65.
- Sanctuaries, the number of at Jerusalem, 9.
- Sultan, address of the, to his ministers, 17.
- conspiracy against his life defeated, 32.
- manifesto of the, respecting the Vienna Note, 44.
- the, signs the declaration of war against Russia, 48.
- proclamation of the, to allay the public ferment, 84.
- "Senod" proposed by Russia, some description of, 11.
- Stirbey, Prince, Hospodar of Wallachia, 34.
- Softas, the, demand an audience of the council, 47.
- Selim II., historical anecdote of, 125.
- Sinope, some description of, 71.
- attack of the Russian squadron upon, 71.
- Lord Clarendon's letter on the subject, 75.
- Schilders, General, assumes the command of the Russian army, 86.
- Seymour, Sir Hamilton, leaves St. Petersburg, 92.
- his conversations with the Emperor, 105-109.
- Silistria, the siege of, 147.
- the siege raised by the Russians, 153.

- Saunders, Mr.**, British consul at Prevesa, his report of the Greeks, 161, 162.
- Schamyl**, the Circassian chief, proclamation of, 170.  
— his history, 173.
- Sea, Putrid**, a road across to the Crimea, 194.
- Scutari**, hospital at, 223.
- Sebastopol**, the panic at, 252.  
— some account of, 256-259.  
— progress of the siege of, 312.  
— the fortifications of, described, 321.
- Staunton, Captain**, reconnoitres the ground for the batteries, 253.
- Seymour Colonel**, his death and mutilation by the Russians, 290.
- Sea, Black**, fearful storm on the, 315.
- TITOFF, M. de**, the Russian minister at the Porte, 9.
- Turks**, the indignation of the, at the conduct of the Tzar, 24.  
— martial spirit aroused, of the, 54.  
— the, weary of the war, 164.  
— losses of the, at the battle of the Alma, 220.
- Tzar**, reply of the, to Louis Napoleon's letter, 92.
- "Tiger,"** the English frigate, loss of, 145.
- Treaties** between Turkey and Russia, copies of, laid before Parliament, 113.
- Troops, French and British**, landed on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, 120.
- Turkey and Greece**, affairs of, 159.
- Thompson, Dr. James**, left in charge of the Russian wounded, 226.
- Trenches**, a night-scene in the, 281.  
— sketch of life in the, 313.
- Troops, British**, alarm in England at their sufferings, 307.
- "Times"** Commissioner sent to Constantinople, 309.
- VIENNA**, negotiations going on at, 22.  
— the celebrated Note of, 41.  
— modifications by the Porte rejected by the Emperor Nicholas, 39.  
— abandoned by the Western Powers, 41.  
— contents of the second note, 77.
- Ultimatum**, Anglo-French, forwarded to St. Petersburg, 117.
- Vasscletchkoff**, the Russian general, marches upon Kalafat, 84.
- Varna**, the rendezvous of the allied troops, 120.  
— some description of, 123.  
— council of war held at, 154.  
— the great fire at, 184.
- Vacoufs**, lands held in mortmain in Turkey, 127, 128.
- WIDDIN**, Turkish intrenchments at, 86.
- War mania** at its height in England, 114.  
— declared by England and France against Russia, 117, 118.  
— declared by Russia against England and France, 135.  
— estimated losses by the, 327.
- Zoumorka**, the Greek province, insurrection of the, 95.
- Zeineby**, the Turkish commandant at Arta, 95.
- Zouaves**, the, French troops at the battle of Inkermann, 296.



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